692
887 ARBITRATOR--GHatpo. This word means "old man" and is probably used in the sense of "arbitrator" as an old man is usually selected for the post of arbitrator.

601 [8] AUNT--áney (paternal) máchung (maternal).

777
●787 AUSPICIOUS--táSHis or tráSHis also zhakskar (auspicious day for commencing journey, etc.; it corresponds to the Hindustani "mahoorat"). To fix or select an auspicious day is zhakskar lta ches. In this respect the Tibetan and Hindu procedure is identical.

589
601 BACHELOR--phórang--the word also means "widower."

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476
792 [9] BANKER--There are no bankers in Ladák, where grain occupies the position held by money in more civilized countries. The monasteries carry on trade in grain, they lend it out to villagers on the Indian sowai principle, that is to say for each 100 lent, 125 has to be repaid at the time of the next harvest.

852
792 BAPTIZE TO--thrus táng ches. When a name is given to a Tibetan child the lama sprinkles the child with water and performs certain other rites, see also under heading "unction."

501
281 BARGE--nái (a boat or barge) dzaks (a raft consisting of inflated sheep skins covered with a kind of wattle work).

243
262 BARLEY--sóa or swa (ordinary) and nas (beardless barley or grim). Grim is the grain which is most largely grown in Ladák, it requires but little manure, and it ripens at greater altitudes than any other grain. From it is obtained the kind of flour known as "satoo," which constitutes the food of the ordinary Ladák peasant.

285 BASKET--tseypo (the grass mat basket of Ladák made in the shape of an inverted pyramid) also tenjon or trongmo (the Kashmiri kilta) huioog GHam (plain wicker work baskets) kundum (the low round wicker work baskets used for carrying fruit, flowers, etc.).

352
177 [10]
BED--charpa or mánjee. Prior to the advent of the Dogras, beds were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word.

were quite unknown in Ladák, hence the Indian word. 600

BELL--teeloo or treelo (small or hand bell) and SHnga (large). The SHnga is not unlike a small Church bell, it does not swing but is sounded by means of a string, tied to the tongue, which is thus made to strike the bell. tripSHil (the bells usually seen on the breast band of the ponies of Lámas and Lhása men). 534

BETROTH TO--treechhang (or teechhang) stàr ches, among Ladákis, betrothals, which are the occasion for a little drinking of tea and chhang,[1] are arranged by parents in consultation with relatives. Having fixed upon a match, which from a wordly point of view, seems desirable, they then refer to the lámas, to see if the destinies of the proposed couple suit. If they are found to be unsuited the betrothal is given up. A youth is betrothed when he is about 20 years of age, and a girl perhaps two years earlier. After the betrothal or "teechhang stàr ches, the wedding or "pakston" may take place within a month, or it may be put off for a year or more. If a male child possessing property, is left alone in the world, he is betrothed at once to some fully grown woman, who acts, as [11] his nurse during his childhood, and as his wife during his later years. This is not found an inconvenient practice as a Tibetan may have two "little" wives, in addition to his original "pakston" wife. The dowry (rinto) is fixed at the time of betrothal, but it is not given till the marriage takes place, and sometimes even after that. This dowry is paid by the bridegroom to the father or other nearest male relative of the bride. 584 [787] [793] 585 768 584 [595] 585

BIBLE--zhalchat hngáma is the word used by Missionaries, meaning "mouth promise former." If an ordinary villager used the expression, he would mean that he had obtained a promise actually from the mouth of some superior. See also under "Gospel". 600

BLESS TO--chagyang táng ches. This term is applicable to the "laying on of hands" or blessing, bestowed by a high lama, or incarnation, placing his hand on the bowed and bared heads of the laymen kneeling before him. The general word for "to bless" is "skiopches" God bless you; konjok kiol la skiopSHes dzat SHik. Chinlap táng ches is "to give sacred pills". 793 788

[1] [i.e, barley beer--- Analyst]

796 536 that after death a man's spirit, on its way to the next world, is met by demons whose features resemble those portrayed on the masks, and that if a man has not in this world been rendered familiar with such monstrosities, he is likely to be frightened off the proper road.

796 787 The "MáSHo NaGHrang" takes place about February at the village of MaSHo. On the day of the festival, two Lámás, called "hlooiar" are stripped, and their bodies painted black--after which a devil's face is painted in red on their chests and backs. Other Lámás then surround them and read prayers and incantations, while more Lámás play musical instruments. After a time the "hlooiars" become possessed with devils and begin to shout and leap about and rush over the roofs of the houses of the village. When in this state of excitement they are believed to be endued with the power of prophecy, and they are consequently much consulted. After a time the "hlooiars" succumb to the excitement and fall down senseless, they are then taken away by the Lamas and the NaGHrang ceremony is at an end.

[45]

601 FILIAL--butsey-tsoks.

601 FIRST BORN-[illegible]o.

778 FLA[illegible]AFF--tarchhen general term, gialtsan the round cylindric[sic] usually seen on the top of a monastery.

241 231 FLAIL--Not used in Ladák, where corn is trodden out by cattle.

[47]

651 FORCED LABOUR--beygár or thal or hala. The vicious system of beygár or "forced labour" which is to be found in most Oriental countries, prevails also in Ladák. Strictly speaking, the only persons liable to beygár are the holders of land, but as a matter of fact the Kashmir authorities do not observe this restriction very closely, and exact it from others than land-holders.

The word beygár is used to denote the unpaid labour exacted by the State from land-holders. Every village keeps a roster of men liable to beygar, and each in turn has to do, or arrange that some one else shall do on his behalf, such beygár as may be demanded.

764 The word "phas-spun" signifies the persons who perform the funeral
614 ceremonies, in so far as these involve the touching of the corpse. The office of "phas-spun" is hereditary and unpaid, a male corpse is attended upon by male "phas-spun" and a female corpse by female "phas-spun". If a stranger comes to a village, where his family has no "phas-spun" it is necessary for him to get some one to agree to undertake the office, a dinner is then given, and the man to whom the feast is given becomes the family and hereditary "phas-spun" of the giver.

It never happens that a "phas-spun" declines to perform his part. If a person dies without any "phas-spun," his corpse is treated as that of an animal; no one will touch it, and no religious ceremonies are performed over it, a rope is tied round it, and it is dragged away and either thrown into the river Indus or buried. But to return to the narrative. When
764 the "phas-spun" numbering from 7 to 9 persons, have tied
614 up the corpse (ro) into the approved attitude, they put it
[778] into a cotton cloth bag (rógres), and then remove it from the
793 room in which it is, and take it to the "Chhodkhang" room (see "Church ") of the house, and put it in a corner of the room, and stretch a shawl or other cloth across the corner, so as to hide the corpse. The Abbot (hlóbon) then comes into the "Chhodkhang" room, sits down just to the left front of the corpse and with his back to it, and other Lámás of lower rank also enter the room and sit facing the "Hlóbon." As soon as the corpse has been put in to the corner by the "phas-spun" these people retire, and none but priests are admitted into the "Chhodkhang," and these remain to pray, and to keep alight 101 brass lamps (chhodmey), and to offer food and drink to the deceased. The "phas-spun" and relatives of the deceased sit in another room. Till the time for the funeral or burning ceremony arrives, Lámás remain day and night in the "Chhodkhang" by day from seven to ten Lámás are
• [787] probably present, and by night only one or two. The Lámás consult their books to see what is the auspicious time (zhák záng) for the corpse to be removed to the burning ground (turtsa). When the time arrives for removing the corpse, the "phas-spun" and the nearest relative, (i.e., heir) whether male or female enter the Chhodkhang, and the "phas-spun"

[68]

775 792 In Ladák there are only four resident skooSHoks, who preside over the monasteries at Speetuk, Tiksay, Phiáng and Reyzong, respectively. There is also a skooSHok belonging to Heymis the largest and richest of all the monasteries of Ladák, but, for some unexplained reason, some 3 or 4 births back, the skooSHok took birth at Lhása, and refused to come to Ladák, and since then, rebirths of this Heymis avatár have always taken place at Lhása.

The present incarnation must now be about 20 years of age. I am told that as he is a Lhása man, he does not care to come to Ladák, but that if ordered by the Kashmir Durbar to come, he would obey. The truth of the matter is probably that he, having been brought up at the holy city of Lhása, where the Buddhist priesthood reigns supreme, does not care to come to Ladák where the Dogras are masters and Lámás occupy a very subordinate position. The information which I have been able to gather as to the rules under which a spirit, for the first time, becomes an incarnation, is not very clear, but, apparently, when any great Láma or other very holy and virtuous man dies, his spirit, instead of being reborn in the ordinary way, may take rebirth in the form of a "sprulskoo" or incarnation--after this, provided the "sprulskoo" leads a virtuous life in this world, it is optional with him to attain nirvana at once, or should he so desire, his spirit, after his death, is repeatedly reborn as a "sprulskoo." If on the other hand an incarnation leads a wicked life in this world, his punishment is, that his spirit, instead of being reborn as an incarnation, will take any ordinary rebirth.

[643]

An account of the different kinds of form in which a spirit may be re-embodied, will be found under the heading "Rebirth."

775 792 •787 As regards the rebirth of the spirit of an incarnation, or sprulskoo the procedure is simple enough. Either the incarnation, before death, tells his disciples the circumstances under which, and the place in which, his spirit will be re-born, or should he die, without having given any such indication, his followers, the moment he dies, go and consult learned Lámás, who advise where the spirit will be reborn. The disciples then, in accordance with the instructions given, proceed to the spot indicated, and ascertain if any woman has conceived, or given birth to a child which may be the re-embodiment of the late skooSHok's spirit. If such is the case, they note the fact and go away for the time, but if it is not so, then they conclude that a mistake has been made, and they refer to the Lámas for fresh instructions and so

on, until they succeed in finding a child which may be the one for which they are looking. Having found their child, they leave it in its own home till it attains the age of about four years, then the disciples of the dead skooshok come to the child's house and bring with them, the prayer books praying wheel (mani chhos khor) sceptre (dorjey) bell (treeloo or more correctly dreelboo) rosary (thanga or thranga) and other property of the deceased, and after mixing them up with similar articles belonging to other persons, they call upon the child to prove that he is the incarnation of the deceased, by pointing out which of the articles he recognizes as having belonged to him in his former life. If the child does all this satisfactorily, and it is usually the case that he does, then he is announced to be a "skooskieys" or child skooSHok, and he is taken away from his home, never to return, and takes up his abode at the monastery (gonpa) of which his is the presiding spirit.

If the child fails to prove himself to be the sought for incarnation, it is assumed that a mistake has been made, and a fresh search is made in another place, and so on, until the disciples are satisfied that they have found the "skooskieys" they are looking for. Parents never object to their children being thus taken from them.

On arrival at the monastery, the child's education is taken in hand by the monks, and when he reaches the age of about sixteen years, he is sent off to Lhasa, the Rome of Buddhism, to complete his studies. After remaining there for from four to eight years, his education is complete and he returns to his own monastery as a sprulskoo, or skooshok or Incarnation.

A sprulskoo does not live inside the monastery, but in a small house (called taSHak) attached to it-- [69] He does not eat with other people, and though his parents and relatives may occasionally come to see him, they can not live with him, or he with them. It is thoroughly believed that he is an incarnation, and the consequences thereof are philosophically accepted.

The skooshok is the spiritual head of the monastery, and it is his duty to superintend everything concerning religion. He is not expected to interfere in worldly concerns, but occasionally may do so.

The only skooshok I have ever met is Lobzhang Eeshes Stanbey Gialsam, (i.e. good dispositioned heavenly religion of Buddha flag of victory) the present avatar of the Speetuk monastery.

792
195 NUNNERY--chómóling is the name of the village or settlement where all the nuns live. Each nun has her own room or house, which is called a "traSHak," or respectfully "zimSHak." Sometimes two or more nuns live in one house.

576 NUZZUR--chhakkhur. This word corresponds to the Indian word "nazar," while dombung corresponds to "dáli." The custom of the country is that if a man wishes to ask a favour, or borrow money, etc., of another, he must, when making the request, present a "chhakkhur" or "dombung." The former would probably consist of brick-tea and cash, and the latter of ghee, chhang and dried apricots.

●787 [112]OMEN--nganltes or nganltas (general); ltaszang (good); ltasngan (bad). The Tibetans are great believers in signs and omens, and they have at least one book filled with descriptions of the various good and bad omens. The following are good omens:-- If on the day of a wedding, a rainbow is seen, or the sky has a reddish colour. If the first person seen on awaking in the morning is a venerable old man, or a person carrying water or milk or beer. If in the morning a magpie chatters near a house it is a sign that a guest or a welcome letter is coming. Among bad omens are the following:--If a kite or snow pheasant comes and settles on the roof of a house. If a raven croaks above a house. If a jackal or dog or fox howls at night. If an owl hoots, or a horse neighs at night. If a house takes fire. If the droppings of a bird fall on any one's head. To dream a bad dream. If an ass runs in front of, or brays near, a bride and bridegroom on their way home. If the beer for a marriage feast turns sour. If a person drops a cup and it falls upside down. If the measure of grain with the arrow in it (see marriage) is upset, it is a sign that the young couple will not lead a happy life together, etc., etc.

791 [113]ORACLE--mopa or rtseespa or onpo (a soothsayer, who works by book and rule); ngonkhien (a clairvoyant.)

564
681 [114]OUTCAST, TO--pheeng (or ton) ches (general); khioo ney ton ches (to put a person out of caste for any offence, etc.)

OUTCAST--khioo ney tonkhan (or pheeskhan) (as one who has been put out of caste for offending against the rules of his caste; tonkhan (as one who is a leper or notorious rascal).

in the neighbouring province of Baltistan, where there is no polyandry, it is common enough. 595 753

POSSESSED--hlá zhukskhan or hlaba (of a good or evil spirit). The first word is used to signify a man only while actually under the influence of the spirit. Hlaba is applied to a person who is at [124] times so possessed. But see under "Festival." Gongpo (or feminine gongmo) is the term applied to the "spirit" with which a person is "possessed." 787

PRAYER WHEEL--máney chhos khor (general); máney lak skor (hand prayer wheel); mánkey chhoo skor (water-power prayer wheel). The prayer wheel consists of a cylindrical-shaped box, made, in the case of the hand prayer wheels, of copper, and in the case of the large prayer wheels worked by water-power, of wood. The cylinder revolves on a pivot which passes through its centre, and the lower part of which serves as a handle, while at the upper extremity is affixed a metal cap, to keep the cylinder in position. The cylinder is filled with rolls of paper, on which are written prayers or texts. [125] As the cylinder revolves, the texts also revolve, and as each revolution of a prayer is equivalent in merit to its repetition, and as hundreds of prayers are revolved with each revolution of the cylinder, it is clear that, according to Buddhist ideas, much value attaches to the máney chhos-khor. To the centre of the cylinder, of the hand wheel, is attached a light chain, about three inches long, and having a small weight fastened to its extremity; thus when once the wheel has been set in motion, it requires very little effort to keep it going. Máney skor ches is "to cause a prayer wheel to revolve." 788

[126]PRIMOGENITURE--góboo-i-thoptáng-i-thims (or thrims). The law of primogeniture prevails in Ladák. But see under "Entail." 428

PRINCE--giálpo or giápo or rgiálpo (ruler); giáloo or rgiáloo (child of ruler); SHráspo or sráspo (male infant child of ruler). 565 601

PRINCESS--giámo or rgiámo (female ruler or wife of ruler); SHrásmo or srásmo, (the female infant child of a ruler).

687 567 476 failed to account for, State grain or money, etc., in their charge. Such a debtor was, and is still, termed a "bákidár" or "defaulter." Such persons, and their descendants, were, till the year 1890, [148] obliged to work for the State in return for their daily ration only, the rest of their earnings being confiscated by the State, as part payment of the original default.

164 757 SMALL-POX--dumpa or drumpa. Small-pox is rare in Ladak, but in the summer of 1834 it broke out with great virulence, and is said to have carried off about 14,000 persons, or one-twelfth of the entire population. The Tibetan custom in regard to this disease is to take the patient away to some secluded spot, to give him a few days' supply of food and drink, and then to leave him to take his chance of recovering.

601 [149] SON--pootsa.

774 SOUL--sem (soul); SHok or srok or tshey (life); hning or sning (heart). In the Roman Catholic Tibetan catechism the word "soul" is translated "namSHes" which in Ladák is understood to mean the "ghost" of a dead person. But see "Spirit."

241 SOW TO--sáwan (or sáon) tap ches (to follow the plough and throw seed into the newly-made furrow); sáwan giástor táng ches (to scatter seed and then plough it in). The latter is the procedure followed by the very poorest agriculturalists in Ladák. [150]

774 776 SPIRIT--sem (the soul); SHok or srok or tshey (the life); hning or sning (the heart); tun (energy); namSHes or namSHet (a ghost); thukngyid (the Holy Ghost); sem or thuks (as the spirit of an action or speech, etc); hla or hloo (a god or fairy); hlámo (a goddess); hlandey or hlandrey or dey or drey (a demon or evil spirit or phantom); ghegs and rdon and hnotchet (evil spirits); gongpo (the spirit with which a man may be "possessed"); árak (an alchoholic drink); chut (the alchoholic essence).

787 273

516 [151] SQUAT TO--duk ches (general); tsong-tsong-la duk ches (as a Hindustani sits on the upright calves of his legs); pugdong (or pigrdong) tsukstey duk ches (as Central Asians sit, in a kneeling position, but sitting back on the up-turned heels); trupzheel-dakstey (or tubzhildakstey) duk ches (cross-legged like a tailor).

their work inside and near the house. The mother of the owner of the house, the good Tsering Putrid, and the owner's sister, are busily occupied at the stove, which is in the same room, in order to serve the red-cowled men with food and drink. They are continually pouring butter-tea with a ladle from a large copper pot into the little drinking bowls placed on the tables in front of the monks. With that the lamas are eating fried barley flour (tsampa), which they knead themselves with their fingers in the bowls into a dough (kollag) by mixing it with the tea; as well as flat cakes baked without yeast and made with the flour of wheat. Towards evening the lamas receive another plentiful meal with mutton and vegetables. With it they drink barley beer (chang) /13/ which they heartily enjoy, as they do the meat, in spite of the interdict of the monastic rule. In order to expiate the guilt which they incur by eating the meat and with it the shared guilt of killing an animal, they add a special prayer to the customary prayer after dinner. After they have prayed from themselves and all their people in all six levels of existence, that they may never be separated from the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, the Law, and Monkhood), and that they may all some day attain to the dignity of Buddha, they add another request that the sheep that has been killed may be reborn in heaven. In this manner the members of the "sacred community of monks" appease their consciences and do not let any grey hair grow on their cleanly shaved heads over the matter. After all they have not killed any sheep with their own hand, so that the responsibility for killing lies with others.

789 [262] [273] [783]

But what is the purpose of this ceremony which lasts an entire day? In the house of Lobsang Wanggyal there is expected the arrival of an heir to the family in the very near future. It will undoubtedly be a boy. The onpo, the soothsayer and astrologist in neighboring Lamayuru, has definitely assured the happy "expectant father" of this. The onpo, after all, is the one to know. He has read it from the stars and from his complicated tables, and he has calculated it that way, something which only such a clever man as the onpo can do.

[787]

Now the life of the Tibetan is menaced even before his entrance into this world of woe, as it is throughout the entire time of his stay on earth, by thousands upon thousands of evil spirits of the most varied kinds. The first to approach the child which is about to be born, in this its earliest stage of life, and which approach it with treacherous intent, are the 100,000 child demons. These must be exorcised, for from them the developing human being is threatened with the 24

[776]

/15/ The Birth

787

He has arrived! The heir! It is really a boy! How clever the astrologist is after all! True, with Tsewang Paljor in the neighboring village his prediction did not prove correct last year. The onpo had calculated a boy, and a girl was born. Just a girl! The enraged father went to the onpo and demanded to have his fee for the false horoscope returned. The onpo laughed at the angry father and said boldly to his face: "Bon-bu-t'sogs (you ass)! Did you not tell me Capricorn, when I asked you the constellation under which your wife was born? And now it turns out to be Cancer," of whose existence the disappointed father did not have the faintest notion. The onpo swore by the "Three Jewels" (Buddha, Law, Monkhood) that it was so; and this, of course, had thrown the entire calculation off its track. Thereupon Tsewang Paljor had to march off with a long face, one experience richer, and poorer by ten jau (equals two rupees which equals two Reichsmark), and he had to content himself with the thought that for the time being he would only be able to call a girl his own. But it was after all too stupid of Tsewang Paljor not to know the constellation of his wife's birth! Such a thing simply could not happen to Lobsang Wanggyal, so the latter thought to himself, and rejoiced over his bu-t'sa (boy).

844

Old Tsering Putrid, the mother of Lobsang Wanggyal, is an orderly, prudent and cleanly housewife. At the proper time she provides a warm "nest" for the expected grandson. She goes into the pantry and picks out from the old flour sacks made of goatskin one in which the mice have eaten a hole. That does no harm; she sews up the hole. After the little man has now made his entrance into the world with loud crying, he is first wrapped into a rough woollen coat of his father's by his aunt who has taken him in her arms. Grandmother Tsering Putrid meanwhile quickly runs into the goats' /16/ hut; there, in a corner, lies a small heap of old, dried-up goats' dung which she has previously rubbed into fine particles on a stone. Of this she puts six to eight handfuls into the sack. With this she mixes some of the dung of ibexes and wild sheep, which, at her command, her youngest boy has brought with him from the mountains where he has been guarding the goats. The dung from these nimble animals will make the new-born son quick of foot. This secret was once betrayed to her by an old aunt. The latter's son to whom she had applied this expedient, had become messenger for the galon (nobleman and district official). And

000 and duties are regulated by strict law and ritual.

692 as if they intend to settle their argument with their wooden shovels, the tools /18/ which they use for irrigation work, and which they have begun to swing in a threatening manner.

Finally the argument is brought before the gopa (village magistrate) to decide. His decision: Lobsang Wanggyal is to make [783] a generous lu-stor (offering) tomorrow morning before sunrise in order to appease the enraged water gods. Besides that he must pay three rupees fine to the "injured parties." This money the gopa divides among the parties concerned, without, at the same time, forgetting himself.

At the Soothsayer's and at the Skushog's

● 787 In his narrow, dark, smoke-blackened hermitage which hangs suspended like a swallow's nest along the steep cliff to the side of the large Lamayuru Monastery, sits the astrologist and soothsayer (onpo) Dorje Dud-joms (rdo-rje bdud ajoms), which means Thunderbolt Devil-tamer. He crouches there in the somber room immersed in profound reverie. He has just exorcised and invoked the presence of his tutelary demon by means of fasting, immersion in meditation, the mumbling of formulas of exorcism, and of magical gestures. Now [776] he believes he can see the Terrible One bodily before him; the terrible Tamdrin, "him with the horse's neck," whose hideous form with the eight arms and legs, with the three faces flushed with anger and with three eyes each, and with the three horse's heads covered with bushy hair, is represented by the painted scroll picture there on the wall. In the ecstatic condition into which he has been transferred by his practices, he feels that the yoga process is being completed, the mystical union with his tutelary demon who, thereby, has become subservient to him and who must now surrender his magical powers to the devil-tamer. Now the latter takes down a few wonderful old tables from a shelf on the wall and spreads them out on a table in front of which he crouches down. The paper of the tables is dirty from frequent use. On it can be seen the picture of a turtle, on whose flat abdominal armor there are inscribed an astrological calendar with the zodiacal signs for the years of the circle with the twelve-fold division, as well as other animals, monster, and magical signs and numbers. There we notice the eight Sparka signs, each consisting in

part of whole, and in part of divided lines lying in threes over each other /[illegible]/. Further, there are the nine Mewa signs, quadrangles with numbers and in each one the name of one of the five "elements" (fire, water, earth, wood, and iron), in the corresponding five colors: red, blue, yellow, green, and white. 787

Next to the calendar there lies a large astrological table drawn on canvas, on which, like a chess board, a great number of squares in various colors are drawn up. Each of the colors designates one of the five "elements." Quite a few secret signs can also be seen on the table. We enter the room softly, look over the onpo's shoulder, and observe him and his strange doings. The eyes in the soothsayer's cunning face are rigidly turned upon his tables. His dirty fingers grasp for a pile of little disks (similar to the pieces used on a Checker board) which he arranges on the squares of his magical table. Then he moves these around, to and fro, up and down, according to certain rules, until he has finally filled a number of squares with the disks. Now he turns his gaze to the calendar with the animal and other signs. The onpo is continually mumbling to himself while his eyes and his fingers glide over the magical signs and ciphers. Mostly the sense of the words is obscure to us, but we do catch some sentences and words which give us an inkling as to what his art of soothsaying is aiming: "Fire is the child of wood which gives it food; the connection is harmless. But here! What is this? Ape and Tiger (in the zodiacal circle of the year). These are bitter enemies. That is bad. The years of birth of mother and child agree very badly with their zodiacal signs. This indicates that there will be struggle and misfortune through evil spirits." /Closing quotation mark left out in the text.--translator./ The onpo mumbles again and goes on moving his little disks back and forth on the colored squares. Now he takes out of an old, dirty little leather sack a handful of white and black round counters made of horn (similar to the round play counters of children), then he takes white and black counters one after another and lays them together in separate little piles. Again the lips mumble, the eyes stare intently at the signs, ciphers, and the counters. Then suddenly his eyes light up, and the words come loudly from the mouth of the devil-tamer: "The spirit-exorcising earth dagger has been pulled out of the earth! Woe to you, son of Lobsang Wanggyal! The earth and /20/ water spirits have been released and will cause you harm! And here the Mewa signs are bad. The elements are in conflict with each other. The

787 Tsan demons (4) and the witches of the mountains are enraged. This

[776] 4. The red Tsan (Tibetan btsan) demons' lords ride through the clouds over the mountains as harnessed riders with their wild army like Woden's Wild Chase /I presume "Wodes" to refer to Woden's or Odin's. --translator./. These demons

[789] send sickness and death to the people at whom they are angry by shooting arrows at them. In order to keep them away the Tibetan paints his doorposts as well as stone blocks which are placed in front of the house, red; he also fastens slips of paper with exorcising formulas written on them above his house door and from time to time he has the lamas exorcise the dreaded demons by diverse means.

is going to be something. Alala! Wait, my little boy! I'll write a prescription for you all right."

The devil-tamer takes a long, narrow strip of paper in his hand and, crouching on his mat and holding the paper skillfully between the fingers of his left hand, he writes down what has been confided to him concerning the fate of the little son of Lobsang Wanggyal jointly by the stars, his secret signs and numbers, as well as by his inventive imagination. Lobsang Wanggyal had been in to see him in the morning and had asked him for a horoscope (5) of his first born.

5. Prognostication of one's fate from the stars and by means of magical secret signs.

On leaving, the anxious father had pressed two rupees (equals 2.70 Reichsmark) into the soothsayers's hand, with the words: "Do a good job." All right, All right, don't worry. I'll take care of it. Tomorrow morning you can come and pick up the horoscope," the onpo had replied and had winked at him in a familiar and sly manner.

And so the devil-tamer writes down the following: "This boy, son of Lobsang Wanggyal, was born in the wood-tiger year (6).

805 177 6. The Tibetans took over from the Chinese the moon year with twelve moon months (of 30 days each) and 360 days. But in order to make this short year always correspond again to the sun year, frequently a day, even an entire extra month, must be inserted. Thus the year that corresponded to 1933,

for instance, in Tibet and China had two "eleventh" months. In case the insertion of a whole month is too much, several days can be omitted. Of course, the calendar-maker and the astrologist leaves out those days which he has calculated as unlucky days. 805 177

The Tibetan calendar reckons with year cycles of twelve years each which, in calculating the time, are added together and counted. The individual years within the cycle of twelve are not designated by numbers but by the names of one of the following twelve animals: mouse, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, ape, bird, dog, and pig. To calculate longer periods of time five cycles of twelve years are added together to constitute a larger cycle of sixty years in such a manner that every year within the cycle of twelve is connected with one of the five "elements" (wood, fire, earth, iron, water). (Compare Ramon, Hindu-Astrologie, same publisher.) If one asks a Tibetan for his age he will usually be able to give the animal designation of his year of birth, as, for instance: I am a snake-year person or a pig-year person (in the latter case, a lucky person). Now the snake-year, for instance, may be the year 1929, 1917, 1905, 1893, and so forth. If the person concerned also can tell how many year cycles his age comprises in this year (1936), then his age and his year of birth can easily be calculated. If, for instance, he says: Three (twelve) year cycles plus four years, that makes 40 years. In other words, he was born in 1896. Educated people can indicate the precise calendar designation of their year of birth. For instance: I am an iron-horse person (that is to say, born in 1870), an earth-pig person (therefore born in 1899), a wood-tiger person (thus born in 1914). When he sets up the horoscope, it is very important for the soothsayer to establish whether the animals and the elements in the year cycles of the persons concerned are in a friendly, in a hostile, or in a neutral relation to each other. If, for instance, in the horoscopes of man and wife, mother and child, mutually hostile animal signs or elements appear over against each other, this indicates that there will be conflict, misfortune, and anger of the gods. Among the animals, for instance, horse and mouse, ox and sheep, tiger and ape are bitter enemies; among the elements water is the "mother" of wood because no tree grows 805 787 177

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without water; therefore they are in friendly relation to each other: iron, on the other hand, is the bitter enemy of wood, for the iron axe cuts down the tree and splits the wood.

The week is calculated according to the Aryan system which the Indian priests and astrologists brought to Tibet along with Buddhism. In accordance with this, the seven days are named after the seven planets of ancient astronomy which, as is well-known, counts the sun and the moon among the planets. Thus arose the names "planet sun" (gza nyi-ma) for Sunday; "planet moon" (gza lda-ba) for Monday; "planet red-eye" (gza mig-dmar; red-eye because of the red light of Mars) for Tuesday; "planet Mercury" (gza lhag-pa) for Wednesday; "planet Jupiter" (gza p'ur-bu) for Thursday; "planet Venus" (gza pa-sans) for Friday; "planet Saturn" (gza spen-pa) for Saturday. These designations, therefore, correspond to those of the Romans, the French, and others. As among the Romans, seven signs for the seven days of the week have also been introduced among the Tibetans: a circle for Sunday, a moon sickle for Monday, a (red) eye for Tuesday, a hand for Wednesday, a dagger for Thursday (compare the thunder bolt of Jupiter and of Indra, the hammer of Donar), a ribbon with one end pointing to the right for Friday, and a bundle (like staffs?) for Saturday. Like the years of the twelve-year cycle, each day of the week is connected with one of the five elements and through this it receives its color and its character: Sunday and Tuesday are connected with fire; in accordance with this they are red, "angry" days, on which one should beware of undertaking anything of importance; Monday and Wednesday are blue, by their connection with water; "blue" Monday, like "white" Thursday (air) are equally days of good fortune auguring success for all undertakings; "blue" Wednesday and "yellow" Saturday (earth) are only good for receiving (payments of wages, gifts, and the like), but not for giving and paying out money, a "weighty" reason for debtors to neglect paying their debts; "yellow" Friday (earth) is neutral, neither a good day nor a bad one.

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The day is divided into 12 sections (k'yim, rag-pa) each of which correspond to two of our hours.

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1 k'yim (rag-pa) has 5 ĉu-t'sod with 24 minutes each;
1 ĉu-t'sod has 60 ĉu-sran (2/5 minute = 24 seconds)

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1 ču-stran has 60 dbugs (pronounced ugs) = respirations, that is to say, 2/5 second for one respiration.
1 dbugs has 60 ča-šags = 1/150 second.

To designate the briefest period of time there are moreover the following expressions: skad cigand se-rgol, both of which denote a snap of one's fingers; srib cig, t'un cig = a moment; mig adzum = a "wink."

The twelve k'yim (double hours) of the day have names which are composed by always combining the designation of the time of day together with one of the twelve animal names of the zodiac: sheep, ape, bird, dog, pig, mouse, ox, tiger, hare, snake, dragon, horse. Accordingly--midnight.

24 - 2 hours, mt'san-p'yed byi = half night--mouse,
2 - 4 hours, mt'san smad glan = end of night--ox,
4 - 6 hours, t'o-rans stag = dawn--tiger,
6 - 8 hours, nam-lans yos = daybreak--hare,
8 -10 hours, nyi-šar abrug = sunrise--dragon,
10 -12 hours, nyi dros sbrul = warmth of the sun--snake,
12 -14 hours, nyi-p'yed rta = midday--horse,
14 -16 hours, p'yed-yol lug = afternoon--sheep,
16 -18 hours, nyi-gyur spre = setting of the sun--ape,
18 -20 hours, nyi-rgas bya = sundown--bird,
20--22 hours, sa-rub k'yi = darkness--dog,
22 -24 hours, srod ak'or p'ag = complete darkness--pig, (midnight).

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His mother was born in the fire-ape year. Fire and wood are neutral, but tiger and ape are enemies. The evil powers are stronger than the good ones. Now the onpo draws little rings as good signs and crosses as evil omens on his leaf corresponding to the white and black counters. From the series of Sparka there appears the sign "Khon" for earth That makes matters worse. Again he draws rings and crosses. In the beginning the latter are in the ascendancy. Other secret signs are added which somewhat alleviate the battle, so that finally at the end of the first paragraph the good prevails. Then the onpo continues to write: "The signs for the body (of the child), for its power and good fortune are favorable, those for life and intelligence are mediocre. The cable of heaven (7) is broken. The earth dagger has been drawn

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7. According to a popular conception of the Tibetans the good and the pious are drawn up into the heavenly regions

775 by means of an invisible cable, unless the cable should happen to be torn.

787 out of the earth. The mighty earth spirits (Sa-dbag) under their queen
[782] Sai Lha-mo (the earth goddess) and the mighty Lu-Gods (water deities) have been unleashed and they are enraged. In order to ward off all these spirits many little clay chortens (8) must be made. Furthermore

778 8. Chorten (mčod-rten), literally offering containers, in Sanskrit stupa chaitya, are hallowed constructions which were first erected in India to the memory of Buddha or of great holy men, and which often contain relics. They are in three parts: one long cone-shaped upper part, a bulbous middle part, and a square, wide base with several steps. Through the consecration of each new chorten by the priest, the building supposedly becomes animated by the spirit of Buddha and it is then worshipped by the Buddhists. The chorten is constructed in all sizes, from a building as large as a house to the miniature chorten which is only a few centimeters in height; their construction is regarded as meritorious work, as is the circling around the Stupa by the "believers."

a large sacrificial cake (gtor-ma) must be baked for the Sai Lhamo, and finally numerous pills made from bread dough (klu-stor) especially for the Lu-Gods of the /21/ well and the village lake must be scattered into these waters as a sacrificial offering.

The Sparka sign for "earth" likewise indicates that the spirits of the earth and the earth goddess are angered. In that case great caution is demanded. Beware of digging in the earth or building a house in the coming year! Do not plant any beets, nor should you eat any beets. Do not cross over a freshly plowed field after sundown.

787 The mighty Tsan-demons of the mountains are also of hostile
789 disposition and will try especially in the sixth month to harm the child. Be on your guard! Never set out in a southwesterly or in a northeasterly direction! The book of the "100,000 Water gods" (klu-abum), and also "The Sacred, Golden Light of the Conquest of the Don spirits" must be read in your house by the lamas in order to exorcise these demons.

The Mewa sign is the Kumar sign. That confirms that the

Tsan spirits and also the witches have become angered. Against this you should make a cross of strings which closes the portal of earth and the portal of heaven, and you should have the book of the "Golden Light of Help against the Demons' (9) read. 787 789

9. The Tibetan title of the book is: gser 'od gnyan skyabs.

Finally everything is written down. The onpo hastily scans his work once more with an examining eye. In particular the devil-tamer's gaze lingers with satisfaction upon the numerous crosses which are portents of misfortune. This will mean good business; and after all the Dragschos can pay for it. Now the soothsayer smears some ink from his copper inkwell on the ball of his thumb with his reed pen, and on this "stamping pad" he presses his iron seal. Then he stamps his seal at the bottom of the document and mounts it on a silk cloth. Now everything is ready. With a satisfied air the devil-tamer rolls the document up and puts aside the roll, which contains good fortune and bad fortune for an unsuspecting child, ready for its anxious father. 787

The next morning Lobsang Wanggyal comes to get the horoscope of his little son and begins to study its dark contents, with which the onpo eagerly assists him. The young father assumes a worried expression at the thought of all the books that are to be read and of the expensive offerings and cermonies which are connected with it. Such reading requires a number of /22/ days during which he will have to provide the lamas with food and to pay them. He politely reminds the soothsayer of his promise and of the rupees paid to him in advance and mumbles something to himself: This is not the way he had imagined things to turn out. "Oh, just be glad, honored sir, that I have warned you in time with my horoscope of the threatening dangers that you know exactly how you can ward them off. Otherwise all these dangers would have broken in upon the child like wolves upon an unsuspecting sheep; in that case there would have been nothing to rescue it any more." Lobsang Wanggyal is silent; he rolls up the expensive document and pays the devil-tamer five rupees which the latter examines carefully one by one and which he then throws up with practised fingers over a block of stone, letting them fall so that they strike it, in order to test their genuineness by the sound they make (10). 436

10. In India there exists a widespread practice of forging

436 coins and there, as well as in Ladakh, Kashmir, and other neighboring countries there is a lot of forged money in circulation.

787 "Chag t'sal, I pay you my profoundest respects." With these words Lobsang Wanggyal takes his leave of the shrewd soothsayer in a polite but cool way. He would prefer to sever all relations with this man who, his common sense tells him, is making a profitable business of his art of divination, and yet--did he not know more than others? "Trashis shig! Hail to you!" answers the devil-tamer, as though his horoscope was to bring the fulfillment of this beautiful wish.

To Lobsang Wanggyal's ears it sounded like mockery, and pensively he went home. If the onpo writes out many more such prescriptions, my son is going to be a great expense to me. But--at the moment it is only this one, and for the time being it will remain this one only. And then I am not concerned with a few rupees more or less. If only the boy is spared!"

Lobsang Wanggyal's neighbor, the shopkeeper Pagspa Ngurub, does things more inexpensively. He let the onpo alone and simply questioned fate by means of the shoulder blade of a sheep, or by means of the dice; or else he counted off on the beads of his rosary and appeased the evil spirits by a small scattered offering of barley and beer. The neighbor could do as he wished. Lobsang Wanggyal wanted to proceed with certainty and wanted to be armed against all wiles of the evil spirits, whatever the cost.

/23/ What is the Boy to be Called?

553 One month after the birth of his heir Lobsang Wanggyal one morning saddles his horse and sets out on the way to Leh, the capital of Ladakh which lies a three days' journey further up the valley of the Indus. There he has some business matters to take care of; but aside from this he wants to carry out another important errand: he wants the skushog (11) Bakula to give him a suitable name for his little son.

792 11. A skushog (Tibetan also sprul-sku) is the incarnation of a Buddha or of a holy man of previous ages. The Bakula mentioned here is the reincarnation of the great Arhat (master) and apostle of Buddhism of the same name. Skushog Bakula played an important role as abbot of the monastery Spituk

rapid amble to their home. In the house of Dragshos there was great rejoicing over the result of the matchmaking, which finally could not be ignored even by the one who was most closely concerned by it: Drogpa Namgyal. ooo

Again at the Soothsayer's

Yet there was still a great anxiety to be banished for Lobsang Wanggyal: How would the gods and the demons be disposed towards the intended marriage? This could again only be found out by the soothsayer and astrologist Dordje Dud-joms, the devil-tamer, so he had been told. The day immediately following the carrying over of the asking beer Lobsang Wanggyal rode to Lamayuru to the soothsayer, for the first time in a long while. Since the time of the birth horoscope for his son, the Dragshos had carefully avoided the man; the latter had overdone things a little at that time with his calculation of misfortune, and the idea had dawned upon the Dragshos that there always existed a certain relationship between this activity and the /63/ money bag of the person who commissioned it. But one could scarcely go about arranging such an important matter as a marriage in the family without consulting the onpo at all. Who else knows how to read fate in the stars and to interpret the dark signs the way the onpo does? The latter had certainly noticed that the Dragshos had avoided him in the last few years and he was probably determined to be careful this time. It did not pay to spoil things with the Dragshos and his tribe. One should not lose such good customers. 787

The devil-tamer went to work immediately after the Dragshos had left his cell. He compared the horoscopes at birth of the prospective couple and tested to see whether the zodiacal signs of the years of birth, the elements and the constellations were in a friendly, hostile or neutral relationship to each other, whether the astrological signs for life, body, power, and "wind horse" (lun-rta) (40) of the two were

40. A mythical horse which carries on its back the valuable wishing gem (Tibetan, yid bźin nor-bu; Sanskrit cintamani) and which is supposed to bring people wealth and happiness. The "wishing horse" is often seen on prayer flags, magical pieces of paper, and the like, on which it is drawn. [777]

favorable and harmonized with each other or whether they were hostile

787 and presaged the anger of the gods. Dorje Dud-joms cut things short this time. When Lobsang Wanggyal asked for the horoscope two days later, the onpo received him with a friendly smile. "You can rejoice, gaga (gracious sir), your horoscope is not bad this time. The forces resisting the intentions of the betrothed couple are not too great. This might be quite different; all the things that we have seen in this respect!" The Dragshos could believe that fully, just judging from his own observations. "The mighty water deities especially are favorably inclined towards you--at least until now. Your ample lu-stor (offering to the water gods) and the reading of the book klu-abum (book of the 100,000 water gods) have put them into a favorable mood, too. Only the Don and Dre demons are not of a favorable disposition anyhow; you cannot trust them. Perhaps you have been somewhat negligent in recent times with your offerings and the reading of the necessary books. You should just catch up with what you have neglected; I have written down the books that you must have read and the offerings that should be presented. And--wait a minute! Something just occurs to me--I had almost forgotten about that. You want to hold the wedding in the [776] first month of the new year. In that month a new Lha (god) just wants /63/ to move into the gods' tree in Tingmogang, where you are going to have the first wedding festival. This god is as yet unknown and so he cannot be trusted. You must immediately put him in a good mood through offerings. He comes from Hundar. There he raged terribly and in his rage brought smallpox to the people of the village of Hundar. Surely you know that there and in the neighboring villages over eighty people died of smallpox. Then the lamas drove the Lha away by their formulas and exorcisms. Now he is about to move into the gods' trees in Tingmogang, as the lamas who live there have found out. Therefore, be careful and get yourself on good terms with the Lha right away so that he will not ruin your plans. The main wedding feast, which will be held in Tingmogang in the house of the bride's parents, should take place on the 21st of the first month. That is a Thursday (41), a propitious day for all marriages; the other days of the week are

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41. Among the peoples of the East, as among those in the West, including also our Germanic ancestors, Thursday is accounted a lucky day for marriages; to the gza-p'ur-bu (Jupiter's day) there corresponds in Old High German Donar's day, the day of the Thunder (Storm) God Donar who with his weapon, the hammer, protected marriage, just like

Jupiter with his thunderbolt. Friday was considered a day of evil portent. 777

either unlucky or at least less propitious for the purpose." The devil tamer who was in a very good mood today, gave Lobsang Wanggyal many another piece of "good advice" of the same tenor, until the latter's head was buzzing and he no longer knew whether the horoscope was actually good or bad. The fee was moderate this time for a marriage horoscope--five rupees. But at parting the onpo called after Lobsang Wanggyal: "Be so kind as to send a sack of barley soon; I have hardly a handful of roasted barley flour for kollag and I will have to suffer hunger if I don't get something soon; this is my last kollag," and in so saying the onpo pointed at a lump of the size of about two fists. "Oh, oh (yes, yes)," answered the Dragshos rather annoyed while he walked out--he knew the "distress" of the devil-tamer only too well--and to himself he mumbled: "I shall take my time over sending him the barley." The onpo had mumbled something about "paying"; the Dragshos knew <u>that</u> kind of paying too. 787

The Ransom Beer (42) 583

42. Tibetan holtshang (hol-čan). The word indicates the fact that through complicated negotations and by purchase, the bride must be "ransomed" from the control of her parents and of her tribe.

584 [431]

A month later a small caravan of Kalatse people walked and rode across the plateau to Tingmogang. In the early morning seven men and women had already carried seven clay jugs /following p. 64 there are two full-page illustrations, the first with the subtitle: "Lama with a magical bell and a magical dagger"; the second showing a man "at the weaver's loom."/ /65/ in carrying baskets, filled with beer, each jug containing from eight to ten liters. A little later followed Lobsang Wanggyal with his brother Stobsldan, his brother-in-law Tsang Sodnam with other men of his relation and p'as-pun, all riding on horseback. They all went immediately to the house of Norbu Wangchug. After they had arrived in the living room-kitchen, Stobsldan placed a greeting cloth (k'a-btags) (43) on the little table in front of the owner

43. k'a-btags (pronounced k'atag.), greeting cloth or greeting 000

2a [cf. cat. 116, p. 60 - footnote 43 - Analyst]

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plate.

Such beer one does not drink. Scatter it to the earth only!
If a picture (113) should arise, we would drink the beer.

[787]

113. A figure which is formed on the ground by the beer that has been poured out, by means of which one is supposed to foretell the future.

Such beer one does not drink. Just pour it into the water!
If a tress is braided there (114), we shall drink beer.

114. This refers to the ruffling of the surface of the water when something is poured on to it.

The Chirpon people answer:

Who in the sky takes the beer except sun and moon?
Sun and moon, those two you certainly do not resemble.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Who runs up the cliff? The old she-ibex it is (115),

115. The she-ibex /Steinziege/--the female of the ibex /Steinbock/ (Capra sibirica).

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
The size of a mirror a spot melted through sun and moon,
Do not worry! You do not resemble them.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Pictures on the earth are drawn by the black yak (116).

116. The yak's track on the earth is meant.

Do not worry! For you do not resemble it.
Waste no words! Offer a draught!
Little fish Golden Eye alone braids tresses in the water (117).

117. The ruffled course of the fish that swims at the surface of the water.

place /141/ during which a man was beaten till he bled, because he had needled the scribe Dondrub about his "sickness." 000

With tormenting doubts in his mind, Namgyal returned to Kalatse. The recent great exertion approaching the so highly praised bringers of salvation had left only a feeling of dissatisfaction again in his heart. Grandmother Tsering Putrid who had no understanding for his inner conflicts, even though she was constantly admonishing him to be "pious," reproached him bitterly for having neglected to bring home an amulet from the great dosmo in Leh for her. He had missed such a beautiful opportunity, she said, for bringing good fortune into the house and the family.

Soon after the return of her grandson, Api (grandmother), Tsering Putrid talked to him earnestly and said: "Namgyal, have you had a horoscope made yet for the new year? No? Then it is high time that you do so! How can you postpone an important matter like that for such a long time! Go to the old Dorje Dud-joms immediately and have him construct the year's horoscope for our family! That should have been taken care of two months ago. For how will you know otherwise what designs the evil demons have against us, unless the soothsayer warns us betimes!" 787

Namgyal had no desire to go to the sly old fox to consult him again, and so he said to the Api that the onpo himself knew no more than other people and that he was unable to look into the dark future. So frequently the people who consulted him had seen themselves swindled by the onpo. The only person who profited from this, he said, was the onpo. The Api was seriously angry at her grandson and said that if he refused to go she would go to the man herself.

So already on the following day, the old woman went the long way to the "devil-tamer," in order to have him look into the destiny for the year that had long since begun. The soothsayer was in a very bad mood and very short-tempered. He wrote down the titles of a few books for her which she was to have the lamas read. This was to ward off threatening misfortunes; further he prescribed for her a few offerings that were to be made and a skurim (ceremony) that was to be performed for the same purpose. He knew the old woman's avarice, and when she had left his hermitage /142/ he mumbled after her: "For those few measly coppers that you give me I am going to write you a long, beautiful horoscope!" Tired and humiliated the Api came home and she did not dare to show her grandson the document straight away. Not till a full week had gone by did she give it to him and merely said:

787 "Here on this slip of paper it is written how we are to ward off the evil spirits this year. Surely you are going to follow these directions? Isn't that so, Namgyal?" "Oh, oh!" said the latter and with complete calm he stuck the dirty slip of paper into a crack in the large beam of the ceiling in the chansa.

Many Tibetans who wanted to be quite sure in their doings and who could afford it, went to the oracle man (rtsis-pa) in the Lamayuru monastery around the turn of the year. The oracle man sold his wisdom at a greater price than did the onpo. The old teller of fairytales, Gyamtsopa, however, knew how to go about foretelling the future in a cheaper way than those mentioned above. He took the shoulder blade of a freshly killed sheep, cleaned off all particles of flesh, held it in the fire so that it bent and shrunk from the heat. Then he held it against the light and looked at the figures that had formed in the tissue. "There--a rider! A red Tsan-demon! There--a woman's figure with snakes above her head! An evil water nymph! Threatening figures! There a child's head--that means an increase in the family; an ear of grain--rich harvest! In a similar way fresh sheep's intestines prognosticated the future for him, as did, furthermore, the bones of birds or little stones that he threw on the ground with a practised hand. From the figures which are formed in this manner or which his imagination painted to him he gave the people who consulted him and who flocked to him in great numbers, "glimpses into the future." He made it cheap for them: a few measures of barley, a piece of butter, a jug of beer, a few anna (one anna equals eight and one-half Pfenning).

527 One to one and a half months after the dosmoche festival (from the middle to the end of March) the storlog (gtor-log) is celebrated in all the large and small villages. This is a spring festival at which the exorcism of the threatening demons is again in the foreground. This exorcism is carried out by means of a storma (gtor-ma), a scattered offering with the exorcising formulas belonging to it. Here too there are numerous amusements. The men shoot with arrows at targets that have been set up. Certainly /143/ this shooting of arrows originally had a mythological significance. This is indicated by the songs of the mythical great king Kesar, the "son of the gods," in which his heroic deeds are sung. On the occasion of this festival they shoot with bow [526] and arrow during the hours of daylight. Nowadays there is not much skill being demonstrated in this archery. When the Tibetans were still a warlike people, even when the musket flints had already come into use, the art of shooting arrows was practised industriously. During the long period of peace the art of archery [illegible] disuse.

long period of peace the art of archery had fallen into disuse. 000

When the sun was describing increasingly higher arcs above the 241 mountains in the spring, and when under its beams, which were by now 787 already quite warm, the first greenery began to appear on the slopes and mountainsides, Namgyal said to his father one morning: "we might soon be able to start with the plowing. What do you think?" Father Lobsang Wanggyal replied: "Yes, if it were not for the lamas and the onpos, we certainly would be able to start with the plowing and the sowing But you know. They want to determine the time for this, because they say that only they can indicate the day on which the astrological signs are favorable and the gods are inclined towards us in a friendly manner. You know that I have doubted the wisdom of the soothsayers for a long time. It has so often turned out differently from the way they had foretold it, and although we followed their prescriptions, we frequently got bad harvests. But who knows whether it would not be worse if we freed ourselves from them. For the time being it will be better not to break off with them completely. Don't you want to go to the king's plowing in Leh, so that you will have seen that once. The onpo in Leh has set the day for this at the Dosmoche festival. It takes place in eight days and you will be able to learn all sorts of things there." Namgyal was willing to go. He had a certain respect for the dignity of the king, whose ancestors his fathers had once served so faithfully. Moreover, the thought that the knowledge he might gain there could be of use to him also persuaded him to go to Leh once more, in order to be present at the king's plowing about which he had heard so much. The people of Ladakh called it Sa-kha-che (sa-k'a-p'ye), usually abbreviated to Saka.

On the eve of the king's plowing Namgyal arrived in Leh. The 241 following day he went with some of his friends, following the human stream /144/ of novelty-seekers to the bazaar and watched how the farmers led a few dso (bastard oxen) to the place, the horns of which they had previously greased with butter--a symbol of fatness, of abundance. Now they let the animals run around for a while in the open and let them frisk and playfully spring about after they had spent the winter mostly in a narrow, dark stable. Then a delegation of farmers under the leadership of the local magistrates of Leh and of the neighboring villages, which is joined by Namgyal, goes to the castle, where the king is expecting them; they carry a large offering cake in the form of a chorten (bran-rgyas) made of bread dough mixed with butter. The cake is placed in the castle's kitchen and the men dance around it in a

among the Tibetans. By means of shouting, beating of drums, and firing of rifles they attempted to frighten the demon Rahu (sgra-can) (166), the furious enemy of the sun and moon (also according to 821

166. The dragon Rahu of Buddhistic and Hindu mythology has its counterpart in the dragon Nidhogg, a secondary form of the Fenri wolf of ancient Germanic mythology, who also threatens to devour the sun and the moon during their eclipse.

Indian belief), from devouring these good /192/ divinities who supply the earth with light night and da .

The superabundance of water in the spring and early summer was followed by a dry mid-summer. The masses of snow on the mountains had melted for the greater part, and for months on end not a drop of rain fell, even though the sky was frequently overcast and the air cool, during a period in which ordinarily there was a considerable heat spell. The seed on the fields that had been spared by the floods, which was just about to form into ears, dried up because there was no water available for irrigation. The snow remaining in the mountains and the glacial ice did not melt with the cool weather, the brooks carried only a little bit of water, and the water reservoirs were frequently empty. Namgyal had the Kalatse reservoir and water-line strictly guarded both day and night; and as village magistrate he punished several villagers with high fines of money, who had secretly and out of their turn conducted water to their fields; for this was, at that time, a crime committed upon the entire village community. 731 [689]

The lamas performed one procession after another, and the farmers carried the sacred books around all the fields; they prayed to all rain-bestowing deities, asking them to drench the thirsting land with rain Everything was in vain. The coveted rain did not come; many brooks dried up completely, some only brought a little water into the valley late in the afternoon. At night there was frost in the high mountains, and the little melted water, which did not begin to flow down till around noon, had a long way to travel before it got down into the valley. A crop failure was to be expected. [789]

At the same time all kinds of sickness again went through the land, measles and scarlet fever, also a few cases of smallpox and typhoid, which frightened the people anew. The people of Ladakh wailed and cried to their "prophets," saying that they had prophesied a particularly fortunate year, and that in place of this they had been 787.

787 afflicted with this terrible year of misfortune. The old devil-tamer soon had an explanation ready. It is true, he said, that their prophecy had not come true. But this had its reasons. He and the lamas had not had a horoscope of the ex-king at hand, which influenced, so he claimed, the fate of the entire country even today after the dethronement, in a powerful way. Now they had just learned that the king was born in the Iron-Tiger year (lcags stag-lo) /Following page 192 there are two full-page illustrations, the first of "A Lharie (physician) with his medicine bag and medicine book" (subtitle); the second of a "Barber (Muslim) and knife sharpeners" (subtitle)./ /193/, and the present year was the Wood-Ape year, he pointed out. This conjunction meant of course conflict and disaster. For iron was the enemy of wood--the iron axe cuts the wood--and the tiger is the terrible enemy of the ape. No wonder, therefore, that the year had brought so much misfortune with it. If they had only had the king's horoscope at the time...

781 The lamas prayed and performed one ceremony after another. The people did not pay any attention to them, and did not call upon them any more, either. A dull despair settled upon the people, and many of them cursed the lazy drones in the monasteries. The people made more use than ever of the old magical processes which the oldsters in the village still knew from their ancestors. They threw barley and pills made of bread dough into the drying wells and brooks, as offerings to the water gods, and they exorcized the spirits of the earth by means of magical daggers and hoes that they stuck into the ground. They placed pentagrams made of sticks and wool threads, string crosses, and thorny twigs around their houses and on the roads, and recited ancient exorcizing formulas which no lama knew.

731 426 Finally, in the late summer, as the grain was standing, scarcely ripened and in thin ears, on the fields, the hot days came. At last the snow fields sent the long hoped-for water into the valley, the brooks and the canals were filled. But it was too late, to save the harvest. Many of the small-holders and small farmers were able to carry their entire harvesting yield home in two or three sacks. The specter of famine crept through the valleys. The grain containers of the poor became empty, and whoever still had some grain in store kept it back. Many rich people sold the grain which they had stored up for years at outrageous prices or else lent it at usurious rates of interest. The same was done by the lamas of the monastery Lamayuru, as well as by the village priest of Kalatse who belonged to this monastery, the lama Dondrub from the Break-leg house. With the grain collected

625 661 After all four accused men had been "interrogated" in this cruel manner, during which none confessed the theft, it was Namgyal's turn. He knew that he had nothing good to expect from Gobinath. Two years before this police officer had once come up to him and said to him confidentially /197/ that he was in a position to procure the post of district official for him (Namgyal), if he would give him one hundred rupees. After all, Namgyal knew, he said, that this was a "good post." He also knew how much influence he (Gobinath) had with the Wasir. Namgyal had refused the offer in no uncertain terms and had brought the matter to the attention of the Tahsildar, the assistant to the Wasir. The latter had warned Gobinath to be "careful." One crow does not peck out the other crow's eyes. /Birds of a feather flock together/ Gobinath knew too much about his superior and his doings. But Gobinath learned of Namgyal's notification and waited for a long time for an opportunity to avenge himself on his opponent. He now believed to have found this opportunity.

625 Gobinath was just about to make preparations for whipping Namgyal, when in the last minute a messenger from the Wasir arrived with the order to free Namgyal. The messenger said that Namgyal had nothing to do with the theft. The lonpo (nobleman) from Dranbar, who was related to the Dragshos, had, he said, proved without a doubt that Namgyal had been in his quarters at the time of the theft, something which could also be testified to by others. Thus Gobinath, to his anger, had to let Namgyal go, and the Lama Dondrub had to go away disappointed, with the two witnesses who had consented to swear for a few annas that they had seen Namgyal at the scene of the crime immediately after the theft (198) Gobinath released Namgyal with

168. See not 48!

the threat that he would find another opportunity to pay him back for his deeds. The thief had still not been tracked down; however many "suspects" were interrogated and tortured; finally all of them had to be released again for lack of proof.

• 787 Upon the advice of some Buddhistic lower officials, the Wasir then seized upon an unusual measure. He questioned the Lhapas (demon priests) of the monastery Mashro which lies beyond the Indus River at the foot of a gigantic, glacier crowned mountain-mass. Some of the monks of the lower orders there occupied themselves, after they had been so designated by lot, in a special way, with the exorcising

of spirits. In so doing, a certain demon was invoked by them after previous fasting and meditation. This demon was supposed to enter into the Lhapa and was then supposed to speak from the obsessed person and to answer the questions put to him. Only when they are forced by /198/ their superiors, did the Lhapas carry out this demon service of which at bottom they had a horror themselves. The Tibetans maintained that these spirits enter exclusively into persons with bad astrological signs. Among these spirits there are even such as belong to deceased persons. 787.

With some servants and police soldiers the Wasir rode to Mashro. There he had two Lhapas come, and with them, with his servants and the superior lamas, he went into the gorge above the monastery where in two trees, by each of which there stood a lhato (idol altar), the Lhas supposedly have their dwelling places. There the Wasir now addressed three questions to the Lhapas who had already transported themselves into the correct ecstasy: "Who is the thief, and where is he keeping himself?" Upon the correct answering of this question each of the Lhapas was to receive twenty-five rupees. If they were unable to answer this question they were to indicate where the stolen goods were hidden. The correct answer was then to be rewarded with fifteen rupees for each. If the Lhapas were unable to answer this question likewise, then they were at least to say whether the thief was a native or a stranger, which way he had taken on his flight, and whether the stolen goods could even be found at all any more. The correct answer was to bring in a reward of ten rupees for each Lhapa. But if they left even this question unanswered, then the Wasir would have the lamas whipped thoroughly "until they burst."

The two Lhapas into whom the Lha was supposed to have entered, something which manifested itself through excited movements, glazed expressions, and foaming at the mouth, did not give an answer at first. The two unfortunates were apparently willy-nilly dragged this way and that by an invisible power. The superior lamas, who observed everything very carefully, said that the demons gave indications of departing because the Wasir had threatened too much. A few lamas attempted to hold on to the unwilling spirit by means of exorcisms and of music of trumpets, drums, and kettle drums. Finally, after a long wait, a spirit spoke forth from the Lhapa: "We are bound in the Beyond by the power of the great lama's magic. We may not name the name of the thief. But the stolen goods will not be lost, they will appear after a short while. The thief is no Tibetan, no /199/ man of Ladakh; he is

787 still in the country." In answer to the Wasir's question when the stolen goods would be found, there came the answer: "We know it not." After about a month the thief was apprehended. He was a native Indian soldier from the small garrison of the Dogra fort near Leh. The stolen goods were also found in a hideaway. The two Lhapas each received ten rupees from the Wasir as reward.

792 Namgyal returned to Kalatse richer by one experience. His fellow villagers received him with jubilation and many presents. They were all honestly overjoyed at his release from the claws of the hated Gobinath. The lama from the Break-leg house preferred not to show himself openly in Kalatse for a whole year long, although as a village priest he was responsible for the health of souls of the village inhabitants. His relatives--he also had a wife, like the majority of his "red" brothers in the order who had dropped celibacy--he had told that he was now "urgently needed" in the monastery. In his place a small, gentle little monk moved into his hermitage, who performed his office to the satisfaction of the villagers, because in his demands for the ceremonies to which he had been ordered, he kept strictly to the regulations, and because he did not practise usury.

539 The T'selen (Messenger of Death) Comes

The Song of Death

Human form you attain
With difficulty like rare lotus.
Therefore leave your laughter!
Follow sacred law!
You indulge in your pleasure,
You think not of dying--
And suddenly death hunts you
From behind, he seizes you.
As the wolf strikes the sheep,
The god of death grips you.
Therefore think in solitude,
Do penance in the desert!
/200/ Wealth leads to vice,
Offers you up to hell.
Unchaste, loving women,
You only look for yourself.

From the day following the "changing of the body" the actual 764
death ceremonies begin. The lamas sit in the household temple, the magician who is expert in black magic is called in together with the lama who took care of the "changing of the body." They do not enter the temple at first, but sit down in another (adjoining) room and set up the (death) horoscope.

Let us give an example here: The snake year person Tsering 764
died, at the age of 42, on the 28th day of the 12th month of the Wood- 787
Pig year, on a Thursday in the dragon hour at sunrise. Now, after the 784
"changing of the body" has been carried out, the onpo must look up in the book about the za-ade (the demons who cause the death of human beings), whither the death demon of Tsering has turned. For the 28th day of the 12th month there is written in the book: On this "pig day" the demon of death has turned towards the East. He has now entered the house of a person with a lame leg only 15 paces away. The two people in that house, the snake year person and the pig year person, will suffer harm from evil spirits. They are quickly to perform ceremonies and make protective offerings (gtor-zlog). For the further ceremonies to be held (there), one should consult the book /219/ "The collected clear astrological instructions for the dead (gśin-[illegible])." Since the wandering of the demon of death is described as such in the little book, and since a lame person actually lives to the east of the house of the deceased Tsering (!), the onpo is quickly called, and he is made to perform the necessary ceremonies for protection. This [776] death demon (za-adre) is feared greatly by all people. They say that one step taken by this za-adre is equal to the two ells' jump of a living person (18). In the horoscope there now follows, as in the (money)

18. That means that there is no escaping from him.

donations of a noble queen, an ample count of the Shed (gśed, demons or killers) (19), and of the offerings necessary to fend them off.

19. gśed (meaning, "killers, demons of death"), another expression for za-adre. However, gśed also is an abbreviated expression used to designate the periodically returning offering ceremonies for the exorcism of the demons concerned.

The Year's Shed ("Offering")

764 787 789 Since Tsering was a snake year person, it says in the horoscope: When a snake year person dies a bird year person and a pig year person must be fetched. These persons hide a red or dark blue piece of cloth cut to measure, as well as any jewels that might be available, inside an old leather sack that has been slit open at the top, or inside a black vessel. (This is done as an offering to the Shed demon, the "killer.") These things are also covered with a hide or grains of barley; (in the former case) it must be the fresh hide of a black goat or of a yak killed by one of three Bon priests as a sacrifice to the Shed. The head of the (killed) /second parenthesis supplied by the translator, as it is missing in the text./ yak or of the goat is placed facing north, the right front leg towards the east, and the left towards the west. The spinal column is dragged along the earth. Sayings (mdo-mañ, Mantra), among them the "Formula of the Crown of Hair," (20) are recited. The lha-gsol

20. In this case the thought is probably of hair belonging to Gautama Buddha, the Ushnisha (Tibetan, gtsug-tor), which is to be seen in all pictures of Buddha.

(invocation to the gods), the gyañ-agug (good luck bringing) ceremony, as well as the ceremony of the "string cross of the tent" (gur-mdos), are performed. Thereupon the demon of death escapes to a woman who has a red dog with red flesh.

The Monthly Shed Offering

Since the 12th month (in which Tsering died) is the pig month, it says in the horoscope: He who dies in the pig /220/ month, had actually finished his life already in the snake month. The demon had carried him (that is, his soul) off to the northeast.

Since the 28th day of the 12th month is the "heavenly door of the grave" (because heaven is opened up for the death demons and they can escape from it), the black magician must close the heavenly portal in the following manner (21): above the front door of the house of the

21. This is done so that the demons of death will not harm the people.

deceased Tsering, a mouth, eyes, and so forth are painted with clay on a ram's skull; (for the rest) the skull is covered with paint. On its forehead is drawn the magical Sparka sign "Khen" (22) of Tsering. 764 787 789

22. Khen is the lord of the gods and the demons of heaven.

This skull is attached above the house door and over it is placed a mdos (string star) made of sticks and strings in five colors. This star is called "heaven." Again above this is put an arrow with narrow ribbons of five colors. On the right-hand side of the skull a spotted (probably by means of partial charring) arrow is affixed, to the left a spindle (23) spotted

23. Compare note 106 in its main part!

in like manner, and to the right of the spindle a board bearing the picture of a man's face is attached. Finally as many crosses are carved (into the board) as the number of years in the age of the surviving man (24) in the house. On the left-hand side on the board, a woman's face

24. Even if Tsering was the husband of a woman, it was still possible that a second or a third brother of Tsering lived as her husband in the house.

is to be seen and next to this as many crosses as the "pious offerer of gifts" (25) is old. If the woman (the widow) is for instance 25 years of

25. The widow of the deceased man, who offers up gifts for the salvation of her husband.

age, then 25 crosses are carved into the board. When all this is completed, the onpo offers up a drink offering (gser-skyem) before this whole (magical apparatus). This is called the "closing of the heavenly portal." If the heavenly portal were not to be closed, the inhabitants of the house would suffer harm (through the demons that have been set free). When the portal of the earth is opened and it is not closed, it is believed that damage will be suffered among the crosses in the livestock (26).

26. For instance, among the dso (a cross between a yak bull and an Indian cow) /second parenthesis supplied by translator,

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789 since omitted in text./, the mules, and others.

The closing of the portal of the earth proceeds in the same way as the closing of the portal of heaven described above. However, in this case a dog's skull, instead of a ram's skull, is painted, and not the word "Khen," but the word "Khon" (27) is written on it. This is

27. The Old Khon, the earth mother, mistress of all earth demons and earth spirits, corresponds to the Old Khen, the lord of the heavenly spirits.

called the Great Seal (on the portal of the earth, which prevents the demons from escaping).

/221/ The Influence of the Day of Death and of the Hour of Death

Now, since Tsering died on the 28th day of the month, on the pig day, (so it says in the horoscope): He was born as a magician in a previous existence. (After that former existence) he died in the sixth month of the dragon year.

Since Tsering died around the dragon hour, after sunrise, (it says in the horoscope): He died around the time of the (first) warmth of the sun (around 10 o'clock) (28). The devil (bdud) deprived him of

28. In the narrow valleys of Tibet the sun rises, if at all, very late.

life at the break of day. The devils and the Tsan (bt'san) have acted upon him as killers (gsed). The killers accordingly came from the northwest, and used yellow leather things as a hiding place. Even now they are still hidden in them. Hang out a yellow flag and a hairy hide. At first the (chief) killer appeared as a dragon, then, after 11 days, as an ox. That is bad for the bird year and the ox year persons, as well as for the little boys in the house. Then, again, the death demon was changed into the body of a snake. You must make a picture of a snake and must set this up at a point where many roads meet, after you have pressed it inside a pig's skull. Later the demon again hid himself in a small leather sack in the East.

When a woman dies and her spirit walks about in the house,

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powerful ceremonies must be held. She will assume the body of a horse for ten years. For the deceased woman (the book) rdo-rje gĉod-pa stoñ-rtsa (the thousand Dorje Chodpa), and (the book) mdzaṅs-blun (the wise man and the fool), must be read. Then she will be born as the "Goddess of the small light." But unless this is done, she will be born in the body of the sublime White Bird (29).

29. Probably a mythical creature of Bon mythology. Compare notes 80 to 81 in the main sections!

Evil Magical Signs

Since Tsering's Sparka sign in his 42nd year of life (the year of his death) had turned out to be the Khon (sign), it says in the horoscope: When someone dies under the Khon sign, the Jaksha demons carry off (his soul). If a woman dies (under this /222/ sign), then her dying (being reborn) is all over. If a husband dies in this way, then matters are bad (for him); then the earth demons carry him (his soul) off. Tsering died with his face turned either to the south or to the north--the retribution for his "Black Changing" (30). It is (also) bad for the old

30. His dying in sin.

people and for the invalids, as well as for the livestock. If the person concerned (who dies under the Khon sign) is reborn, then he will take pleasure in continual eating and drinking (debauchery), and in bow and arrow (31).

31. The sinful weapons of murder.

Now the death demon is once again inside the black leather bag. The leather bag is to be placed down on the ground by a fork in the road. Then the demon will go to an old, invalid man. A hare's skull and various kinds of wood are to be placed on the corpse (of Tsering), in order to prevent this. Then the demon again hides in the northeast. He hides in the buttermilk of cow and sheep. Now in the southwest the demon slips into a sheep year woman. Later he goes again to where there is a cow and a yellow checkered watch dog (sgo-k'yi). Then again he conceals himself with a married couple in a box or in a roll of yellow cloth or in a front leg (of meat) which has been cut and

764 and left lying about. The "sap of death" (gśin-rlun) (32) is caused by
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[827]

32. According to the physiology of the Tibetans and the Indians, as well as of Aryan peoples in olden times, the functions of the body and of the mind of human beings depend upon the proper functioning of the three bodily juices (humors, Tibetan, nyespa-gsum) which circulate along particular channels inside the body. These are air, gall, and slime. If the functioning of the "Three Juices" is disrupted, then diseases or nervous disorders arise; gsin-rlun, meaning "juice /or sap/ of death, causing death."

the evil Sparka sign.

The winding sheets for the corpse must be blue; the door of rebirth (ĉad-sgo) is in the east, because in the southwest the hostile earth spirit(earth naga) has arisen. A chorten is to be built with blue bumpa (33). On the steps of the chorten human bones are to be crushed in order

33. Bumpa; meaning the cone-shaped middle part of the chorten.

to overcome the evil spirits. The books "Of the grave" and "Of the prayer of the old woman" (abum daṅ gres-mo źus-pa) are to be read. The door of the grave is closed by an ox and a sheep. Paint the grave white at the top (34). Press the seal of the Sparka-Khon on it! It is

34. Probably with the skulls of these animals. The grave stone serves as a receptacle for the ashes of the cremated body.

good to ascertain through the "burning of the mask" whether (the battle) is to be risked or not. Eighteen years--that is a man's age. But if he dies through Khon (the anger of the earth mother), then the door of death is opened. If an old woman dies, then the portal of death is closed. Since the signs of the year of a mouse year person and of a pig year person are hostile (towards Tsering), /223/ these people are not allowed to perform any kind of preparations on the dead man.

Since the Red Nine turned up as Tsering's Mewa sign, it says in the horoscope: If someone dies under sign of the Red Nine, then the demon of death will conceal himself in a cow or in some red object. These thing are to be carried out of the house. If the man died during the day the ceremony of the god Schiwa (lha-dbaṅ-p'yug), of the Golden

String Cross (zer-mdos), and of the Bloody String Cross (k'rag-mdos) is to be performed. Since disaster is approaching, the Yang-agug ceremony must be performed. A statue of the Bodhisattva Manjusri (ajam-dbyaṅs) is to be set up. 764 787 789

Which Days of the Week, Dates in the Month, and Hours of the Day are favorable for a Funeral

In the "calculation of retribution" (abras-rtsis) (35) it is stated

35. The title of a book.

that the four days of the week, Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday are very favorable days for the preparations on the body. Since Tsering died on the 28th, a Thursday, the religious exercises can be held for three days, from Friday to Sunday, after the "changing of the body" has been carried out on Thursday. The Monday is the second day of the first, that is, the Fire-Mouse, month; the constellation (k'rums-smad) (36) of this month is favorable for the preparations on

36. The astronomy of Tibet names 30 constellations through which the moon travels in the course of one month: k'rums-smad is the 25th in the series. [821]

the corpse. But since Tsering was a snake year person, his corpse may not be carried out of the house at the snake hour (37). It must be taken

37. Around 11 o'clock in the forenoon.

away either earlier or later. This applies not only with respect to the respect to the deceased, but also with respect to the surviving inhabitants of the house (38); namely that when the zodiacal sign of the year of

38. Insofar as they take part in carrying the corpse out.

the birth (of the persons concerned) corresponds with the animal sign of the hour of the day, the corpse may not be carried out of the house at such an hour. But if the corpse has to be carried out quickly under all circumstances, then the black magician (nag-rtsis-pa) must perform

764 the purification of the sins of the year (lo-sgrib), the sins of the
• 787 month (zla-sgrib), and of the other sins; and he must also perform
789 other ceremonies, if necessary. Then the corpse may be carried out.

/224/ Since Tsering was a snake year person, the snake year persons among his tribe and among the inhabitants of his house are forbidden not only to touch the corpse, but also even to look at it. But if the magician gives them the Nag-po dgu-t'ub amulet (39), they

39. /The text has two footnotes numbered 38, the second being clearly a misprint for 39. --translator./ The amulet which exorcizes the "Black Nine" (probably Bon demons).

may perform the preparations. Tsering's wife was undoubtedly supposed to carry her husband's body, but if she is a snake year woman she may not carry it either (nor touch it).

On the eight dates of the month, the first, the eighth, the ninth, the 18th, the 19th, 28th, 29th, and the 30th, no kind of preparations on the body are to be performed. On the other hand, the six dates of the fifth, the seventh, the 15th, 17th, 25th, and the 27th, are very favorable for these preparations; the remaining 16 dates have neither profit nor harm in them; this appears clearly from the book about the "calculation of retribution."

Since for seven days the disastrous elements (Sanskrit, skandha) (40), which fashioned the earthly body and which are called zin-puń,

40. Concerning the five skandha, see note 11.

float around, no kind of work, either good or evil, may be performed during these days. Now, if it is also stated that on the days of the zin-puń, the purification may not be carried out, then this means that as of recent times the onpos nevertheless do carry out the purification on the days named. Sometimes the corpse is even carried out of the house on these days.

The Signs of the Future Re-incarnation

"Since the Red Nine turned out to be the Mewa sign of the 42-year old Tsering, he would have to be reborn again as a dog and (later) as a donkey. But if you set up the image (the bronze or clay statue) of the Bodhisattva Byams-dbyańs (Sanskrit, Manjusri) in the

household temple, and if you have Mantras (magical formulas) recited, 764
in order to prevent this, he shall be reborn in the south in the land of 787
the Mon (India). These birth signs can be clearly seen from the book 789
'Khorlo' (meaning, 'wheel of the transmigration of souls'). " In this
wa, the magical priest explains in detail the birth signs and the cere-
monies resulting from them, to the "gift offerer" (layman). The onpo
performs the necessary ceremonies in the manner of the Bon religion.
Sometimes /225/ it also happens that when the exercises (of the lamas)
are already completed (which bear a Buddhistic character), the exercises
of the onpos continue. The "gift offerer" has the idol manufacturer
fashion up to twice daily for four days on end, in accordance with the
birth signs of the deceased, images (clay figures) of the creatures
(animals, human beings, gods) designated by the onpo, or also painted
images (tanka) of the same.

The things given to the death demon for concealment are not thrown away. They are handed over to the magical priest. Not only that, also clothes, shoes (belonging to the deceased) and other things are given to the practitioner of black magic, who has performed the exercises. All the ceremonies, like gyah-agug, gto-cos, the mdos (string cross, string star), the "Great Stag's Horn" (sa-ba-ru-rgyas), the "Four Seals, " and other exercises are indeed all Bon practices. A saying of the adherents of Bon goes: You have overcome a Persian, you have made a magical priest (41).

41. Among the Persian tribes in present-day Turkestan, the Bon religion conquered over the popular religion which was current there, and there came into existence that mixed religion of the Bon which has already been characterized, and which has a strong leaning toward Mahayana Buddhism. Yet here, more than in India or in Tibet, the cult of demons and magic remains an essential part of the religious activity of the priests. 771

The Burial Practices of the Lamas (In Contra-distinction to Those of the Onpos) 764

Even poor house owners call in four to five lamas who are equipped with drums, magical bells, cymbols, and other implements, (into their house). The rich call in as many lamas as they can possibly get to perform the burial ceremonies. Aside from a first donation

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

132 **Chapter I.**

The District.

Climate of Láhaul.

No better place than Kardong could have been selected to show the average temperature of the inhabited part of Láhaul, but the differences of temperature are very great. In the upper part of the Chandra valley near Khoksar, the snow lies round the villages till the end of May, whereas in the valley below the junction of the rivers, the cultivators contrive to sow and reap two crops during the spring, summer, and autumn. The air is very pure and dry. Meat once dried will keep for any number of years. There is very little sickness of any kind, and goitre appears to be unknown. The influence of the monsoons is hardly felt. In July and August there are a good many showers of rain in the lower part of Láhaul, and for a few miles on both sides of the Rohtang pass, through which low gap a few clouds contrive to steal. But, generally speaking, there is almost unbroken cloudless weather in the summer half of the year, and indeed up till January, when the heavy falls of snow usually commence. In some years some villages are completely buried in snow. Avalanches fall in spring and summer, and occasionally cause serious loss of life. Not many years ago a glacier slipped and utterly buried a village in the mouth of the Yácha valley not a soul escaping. An old man who had gone up the mountain for some purpose a day or two before the catastrophe is reported to have said on returning that his heart misgave him that something was about to happen, as he had seen a band of strangely-dressed people dancing and holding high revel at the top of the glaciers, who must have been fairies. Of course the words of the seer were set at naught. According to Captain Harcourt, spring may be said to commence in Láhaul about the middle of April; frosts set in towards the close of September,

"though the three last months of the year are generally singularly clear and fine. By January dead winter commences, and from then till April the country is covered with snow to a depth of eight or ten feet, the villages in the higher altitudes being completely submerged." The cold even in summer is at times rendered "unendurable by bitter winds, which usually spring up after mid-day, blowing like a hurricane at 3 or 4 P.M., and only subsiding into a gentle breeze after the sun has set. The nights are invariably calm and quiet."

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Configuration of *wazárat* Spiti.

Spiti is in shape a triangle; the side which separates it from Láhaul and Kúlu to the west being formed by the Kanzám ridge and the mid-Himalaya; the opposite side which separates it from Ladákh and Chinese Tibet, by the western Himalaya; and the base which separates it from Kanáwar, by that part of the mid-Himalaya which, under the name of the Mánirang range, runs along the north side of the Satlaj. The base measures about 58 miles, and a line from base to apex about 60 miles. The Spiti river rises in the apex of the triangle, and runs down its centre till it nears the base, where it inclines to the left and goes out at the north-east corner. In the south-west corner is the Pín valley, with its river of the same name, a tributary almost as large as the Spiti itself. Pín contains some eleven villages, and these are the only villages out of the main valley on this side, as the rest of the streams which join the Spiti from the mid-Himalaya, though of considerable length, flow in

6: Gazetteer G-5 (ca. 1840-1883) 1883-4 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

595 Chapter III, B. Social and Religious Life. 177

only one wife, unless she should have no son. Women are not married in Lâhaul merely to till their husband's land. It is very common to engage labourers for that purpose."

779 The Buddhism of the Punjâb Himalayas. 177

The Buddhism of Spiti and of the higher parts of Pâng in Chamba, the only portions of the Punjâb whose inhabitants have returned themselves as Buddhists, is the Lâmâism of Tibet, perhaps the most utterly corrupt form of the religion of Gautama. We have already seen how largely, so soon as we enter the Himalayas, the Hindûism of the plains becomes impregnated with the demonology of the mountain tribes. A similar fate befell Buddhism in the mountain ranges of Central Asia. To the mysticism, with which the northern school had already clothed the original simple creed, have been added the magic and devil-worship of the Tantras and the impure cult of the female principle or Sakti, till the existing system is a superstition rather than a religion. "As in India the Bráhmans have declared all the ancient village *thákurs* and *devís* to be only so many different forms of Mahádeo and Parbati, so in Tibet the *lámás* have craftily grafted into their system all the ancient gods and spirits of the former inhabitants. Hence, though Buddhism is the prevailing religion of the country, yet the poorer people still make their offerings to their old divinities, the gods of the hills, the woods and the dales. The following are some of the classes of deities which are worshipped under distinct Tibetan names: Mountain Gods, River Gods, Tree Gods, Family Gods, Field Gods, and House Gods. The mystical system of the Tantrists has been engrafted on the Buddhism of Nepal and Tibet, and the pictures of the prevailing sects are filled with representations of the three-eyed destroying Iswara and of his blood-drinking spouse,* while the esoteric doctrines include the filthy system of Buddha Saktis, or female energies of the Pancha Dhyáni Buddhas, in which the *yoni*, or female symbol, plays a prominent part." The wrath of Káli is daily deprecated in the religious service of the temples,† trumpets made of human thigh bones are used, and offerings are made to the Buddhas in which even meat is included, though one of the precepts most rigidly insisted on by Gautama was a regard for animal life. The priests "foretell events, determine lucky and unlucky times, and pretend to regulate the future destiny of the dying, threatening the niggard with hell, and promising heaven, or even eventually the glory of a Buddha, to the liberal. Their great hold upon the people is thus derived from their gross ignorance, their superstitions, and their fears; they are fully imbued with a belief in the efficacy of enchantments, in the existence of malevolent spirits, and in the superhuman sanctity of the *lámás* as their only protection against them. The *lámás* are therefore

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* The image of Iswara has a snake round his waist, carries a thunderbolt or a sword in his right hand, and is trampling human beings beneath his feet. He is represented as frantic with anger, his eyes staring, his nostrils dilated, his mouth wide open, and his whole body surrounded by flames. His spouse is of a blood-red colour, and wears a necklace of skulls; in her right hand is a sceptre surmounted by skulls and the holy thunderbolt, while with her left she carries a cup of blood to her mouth. A circle of flames surrounds her body.

† This service is described at length in Chapter XIII of Cunningham's Ladákh; it bears no little resemblance to the ceremonies of the Roman Catholic Church.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

[P. 49]

NOTES ON CUSTOMS AND BELIEFS IN SPITI.[1]

BY H. CALVERT, I.C.S.

(Communicated by H. A. Rose.)

SPITI is a portion of the Kullû Subdivision of the KÂngrâ District of the Panjab on the Tibetan border. The following notes were made by Mr. Calvert during a tour in 1904.

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I.

Customs connected with the Social Relations.

Betrothal.

Betrothal is usually preceded by verbal inquiries through a relative or friend as to whether the father of the girl is agreeable, who usually takes with him a needle as an emblem of the well-being of the family making the enquiry.[2]

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If the girl's father intimates his acceptance of the proposal, the boy's father takes some *chang* (barley brew) and *khdis* (cloth) to him. If the girl's father drinks the *chang*, the betrothal is complete.

A *lima* is then consulted as to an auspicious day for the wedding, which may be six months or a year later. The boy's father has already referred to the *lima* to ascertain if the marriage is likely to be fortunate before he made proposals for the betrothal.

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If, after betrothal and before marriage, the girl prefers another man, or is married by her parents to another man, the first *fiancé* is given a pony or a sum of money as compensation.

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If a young boy be left an orphan, his relatives select a grown-up woman as his wife, to look after him and his property as foster-mother as well as wife. The boy cannot on attaining his majority marry a second wife.

Marriage.

Marriage within the *got* is prohibited, but interchange of sisters is allowed and cousins may marry.

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A man may marry a woman of an inferior *got*, but a woman must, if possible, marry a man of superior *got*.

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[1] In Tibetan, sPiti.

[2] A needle, sent by one relative or friend to another by people who cannot write is a sign of the well-being of the sender.

8: Calvert G-3 (1904) 1909 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4
Spiri

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[565]

The wealthy take their children to the monastery to be named and pay a heavy fee, but the poor bring the *lâma* to their homes, feed him and give him a small present of cash or grain.

The child to be named must be over a year old and may be as much as three years old.

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If a child die without being named, it is buried. If it dies after the naming ceremony, the Sacred Books are consulted as to the disposal of the body.

The naming ceremony is not considered to have any effect on the child's future.

Adoption.

a.—Where there is no son.

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If a land-owner have no son, but only a daughter, she is ordinarily married to a man ranking as an adopted son. This man must be a younger son and so able to leave his father's house. He is not in any way looked down on.

However, if the land-owner have a younger brother who would ordinarily be a *lâma* he can object, because a son-in-law can only be taken into the house as heir with his consent, and he can claim to cohabit with the land-owner's wife and beget a son. Or, if the wife be old, he can marry another woman and try and get a son by her. If he does, the elder sonless brother is turned into the *khang chung*, and the *lâma* takes possession of the *khang chhen*.

b.—Where there is no child.

If there is no child and no younger brother, or if the younger brother does not object, the land-owner adopts a married man of his own *got*, or he adopts a girl and finds a husband for her who is made his heir. If in this case, the younger brother objects he can be bought off with a field or a pony or money or some similar present.

c.—The adopted son.

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Once a man is adopted as a son, he cannot be set aside, but there can be no adoption if a real son exists. If, after adopting a son, a real son is born, the latter becomes a younger son, and has to become a *lâma* or is given a field for maintenance, while the adopted son gets the main portion of the land. The real son cannot object.

11: Singh D-5 (1932) 1933 AJ4 West Tibetans AJ4
Spiti

764 767 The operation of opening the abdomen completed, the executioner disarticulated the left ileo-femoral joint by first cutting the soft structures, fascia, and tendons around it, though there appeared to be little system in his procedure. Huge pieces of flesh were sliced from the thigh and buttock down to the knee, these being thrown on to a large flat stone nearby. When the joints at the hip and knee [718] were cleared of flesh, the tendons and fascia were severed, and the femoral bone was disarticulated and laid on one side. (This bone was specially kept to convert into a lama's human thigh bone trumpet.) That part of the leg below the knee, he chopped with an axe into big chunks, throwing these on the slab of stone also. Followed the hacking off of the right arm near the insertion of the deltoid muscle, after which the whole of that limb was chopped in lumps and likewise placed with the other pieces of flesh. The next step was to extract the contents of the abdomen, *i.e.*, intestines, liver, spleen, and stomach, placing these on the already large pile of flesh, et cetera. The pleural cavity was then opened by cutting and hacking the ribs with his axe, and the lungs and heart were severed from their adhesions with his hunting knife, these organs being similarly thrown on the stone nearby.

The right leg was then treated similarly to the left; after which the left arm was mutilated and disposed of. This done, the spinal column was hacked in pieces, the ileum and sacrum being also treated similarly.

I noticed that the mutilator did not dissect and mutilate the head which he had chopped off in the early stages of the ceremony, but threw it down the bank of the river.

826 787 It is commonly believed that so long as the head lies in close proximity to the rest of the mutilated parts of the corpse, carrion birds and beasts of prey will not approach. Towards sunset, the time at which the mutilation ceremony took place, I saw no birds about, and this was thought by the relatives to be an ill omen. Further, if they should not appear within one or two days, the deceased is deemed to have been very wicked during his life-time.

764 782 The current theory to justify the disposal of a corpse by mutilation, is that thereby the dead cannot rise again. Others, however, affirm that human flesh is a special delicacy which the gods enjoy.

767 In Spiti, the office of mutilator of corpses is not hereditary, nor does it belong to a professional class of executioners, the members of which are not allowed near the precincts of a temple, as is the usage in Central Tibet. The corpse mutilator is usually a relative of the deceased.

When this task is completed, he returns to the deceased's house, outside of which is placed a vessel of warm water so that he can bathe himself and change his clothes. In return for his services, he is well fed and paid by the family to which the deceased belonged. BHAGWAN SINGH.

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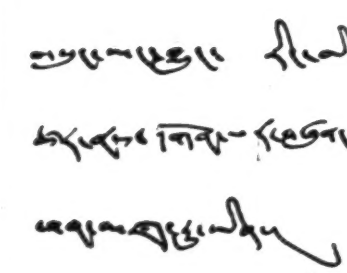
12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

An Incarnate Lama



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A free translation of this account is as follows:[1]

"The last Stagtsang Raspa told the senior lamas of his monastery [the Hemis Gonpa], when he was over fifty years old, that he was soon going to leave this world and that they should look for him in his new life after a few years' time somewhere in Tibet. Two years after 'the retiring of Raspa to heavenly fields,' the personal attendant of our Rinpoche and I, Ngatun Phuntzog, visited the Lhasa oracle, who told us vaguely of the rebirth of Raspa to a noblewoman who lived in the middle part of the U province of Tibet, a little to the northeast of Lhasa. After finding the family, we learned that the child Raspa began to say 'Ladakh, Ladakh' soon after he was reborn. The Gelung and I saw a sign on his left wrist which we recognized to be the sign of the watch of our last Rinpoche. We recognized the scar of a boil on the back of his neck and other familiar signs on the person of our Master. And when we told his noble parents that their child was the reincarnated Raspa, whom we had come to take to Ladakh, they gladly agreed to our request. When we returned to Lhasa, the Netchung [the oracle] approved our discovery of our Rinpoche. The Gyawa Rinpoche, the Dalai Lama, blessed the two-year-old Raspa and permitted us to take him out to our monastery in Ladakh. When we returned to Hemis, the present Raspa recognized the main gate of the monastery, the entrance to his personal rooms, etc. We installed him here at the age of six years and have been blissfully happy in the return of our Guru to Hemis."

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1 [See pp. 161-163 For TIBETAN TEXT. -- ANALYST]

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

792 159 787 775 Phuntzog talked at length about the discovery. He said that the soul usually wanders two years before it decides what life to enter. Two years from the date when an Incarnate Lama passes to heavenly fields is, therefore, the critical date. The high lamas of the monastery then go to the oracle at Lhasa and say, "Two years ago on this date, this man retired to the heavenly fields. What life has his soul possessed?"

The oracle then describes the place in general terms. When that place is found, there may be more than one baby boy who fits the description. In that event they have to make a selection. They customarily bring along some of the possessions of the predecessor. They put these on a table and bring the little candidates in. One may touch a watch and say it is his. One may inquire about his favorite hat and describe it or say where it was last hanging. The lamas may question the boys about the events in the life of the predecessor. They keep up the search until they are convinced they have found the child who has been possessed by the soul of the deceased.

I asked why Phuntzog relied so heavily on the scar of the boil and the mark of the wrist-watch band. "They are not there now," I said.

He went on to explain that the predecessor had had a nasty boil on the back of his neck and that a native doctor had burned it off, leaving a deep scar. The mark was unmistakable. The mark of the wrist-watch strap was also plain. The man had seldom removed the watch; and when he did, a lighter-colored strip of skin was plain for all to see.

That was not all. This predecessor had spoken Arabic and English. "Only the other day," Phuntzog said, "Rinpoche, who has had no lessons in Arabic, started speaking it."

"How can that be?" I asked.

"The knowledge of the predecessor is in the boy," he replied. "It has to be revived. Some stimulus has to bring it to consciousness; but it is all there."

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An Incarnate Lama

As we talked we walked through the vast poplar grove and came to the main monastery building. A lama sat under a tree from morning till night, day after day, reciting his prayers in a singsong way. Our passing did not interrupt him. We climbed to the rooms of the Incarnate Lama—the rooms Rinpoche would occupy when he reached maturity. These were the rooms occupied by the predecessor. His portrait, done in oils, stood on the mantel. Phuntzog turned to me and said, "When Rinpoche first came to Hemis, he asked for his rooms; and when I brought him here he kept pointing out various articles that he recognized."

We walked to the mantel where the oil portrait of the predecessor stood. There was silence for several minutes. Then Phuntzog, turning to me, said, "The resemblance of the Rinpoche is plain, isn't it?"

I nodded, and then I looked to Rahul and saw that he nodded too. And Rinpoche, who had been eying us closely, grinned from ear to ear and, whirling on one foot, dashed out of the room, his little red robe flying.

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

method of communication with the world. Tibet, therefore, since A.D. 1700, has been largely a pawn in Chinese politics.

In the last two hundred years, China has sent several punitive armies into Tibet. They were sent to control obstreperous Dalai Lamas who were becoming too independent, who were not bending to the will of Peking. The Chinese in the period of suzerainty have thrown some Dalai Lamas in jail. They have had some Dalai Lamas murdered. The Chinese saw to it that a whole series of Dalai Lamas never lived beyond eighteen years. There was a reason for this. A Dalai Lama, while in his minority, is under a regent. The authority is then in the regent, as the authority at Hemis is in Phuntzog until Rinpoche reaches maturity. The Chinese have played politics in Tibet for centuries by murdering one Dalai Lama and appointing the regent of his successor. Through control of the regent they have kept control of Tibet.

At times the Chinese have overplayed their hands. In 1839 the Chinese Ambassador to Tibet condemned a lama-regent to exile. Fifteen thousand lamas of the Sera Monastery near Lhasa armed themselves with lances and clubs and marched into the capital looking for the Chinese Ambassador. In 1917 the Tibetan Army, under command of a lama, was attacked by the Chinese Army. The lama general won the battle and took from the Chinese a territory larger than all of England.

But the Chinese have, for the most part, maintained effective control in Tibet. And no device has helped them more than the doctrine of reincarnation. The doctrine of reincarnation has been more of a political than a divine institution. Under Lamaism the church was the effective instrument for control of the country. Native Tibetan control of the internal affairs of Tibet kept the church in the hands of the rich and powerful families. The Manchus saw the doctrine of reincarnation as the way of breaking that control. The method of tracing the soul of the deceased to a newborn babe had all the trappings of a mystic, impersonalized procedure. But the key man was the oracle who told the

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lamas where to look. The Manchus saw to it that the oracle directed the search into poor and insignificant families. By selecting the Dalai Lama from new and different groups, the church got popular support; it got the blessing of those who preached democratic principles. But that was not the aim. The aim and the effect were to destroy the old dynastic power. This process was capable of endless manipulation to arrest tribal alliances, to awaken new regional loyalties, to shift the center of political favor. The Chinese used it to the limit. The general formula developed by the Chinese to control the selection is described in Bell, *The Religion of Tibet.*

The story of the discovery of the present Dalai Lama is beautifully related in Steele, "The Boy Ruler of Shangri-La," in the *Saturday Evening Post* for April 13, 1946.

". . . When the thirteenth Dalai Lama died in 1933, at the unusually advanced age of fifty-four—several Dalai Lamas have died very young under mysterious circumstances—the machinery of magic and tradition was put into motion to find his successor. It was not until two years later that the lucky infant was born in a squalid peasant shack in Northeastern Tibet. Neighbors remember now that there was a rainbow over the house on the day of the birth, but nobody realized then the full significance of that heavenly sign. In fact, the boy was already four years old when he was finally found, identified and formally installed on the gilded throne of Tibet. It happened like this:

"Searching for the right baby boy from among thousands born after the thirteenth Dalai Lama's passing, the high priests of Lhasa sought continuous guidance from their gods. They consulted the state oracle—a jovial monk whose prophecies frequently influence government policies. The oracle, while in a trance, pointed eastward. There were other signs to indicate that the new Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in Eastern Tibet. Twice, during successive nights, the body of the late Grand Lama, lying in state in the Potala, was alleged to have

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787 792 159 775 turned slightly toward the east. A strange, many-fingered fungus sprang overnight from the east side of this dignitary's new, gold-encrusted tomb. The odd growth is still preserved where it appeared. It is enclosed today in a glass case.

"Next the regent and his wise men visited a sacred lake near Lhasa. In its waters they discerned the image of a three-storied, gold-roofed temple and other mystic signs. The rippling image was easily identified as that of a famous temple in Kumbum Monastery, two months' caravan travel away in Northeastern Tibet. They knew, then, that the boy Dalai Lama would be found somewhere in the vicinity of that monastery. A delegation was dispatched to Kumbum to make the final choice from among three infant candidates in that region. The priestly emissaries entered the house of the humble peasant Chog Chu Tsering, whose young son had shown 'supernatural' manifestations. Before him they laid a number of articles which had belonged to the late Dalai Lama, along with several exact imitations. This was the critical test. There was hushed tension as the infant fondled his new playthings. After momentary hesitation, he picked up a cane and a couple of necklaces. They were the genuine articles. The boy had passed. He had demonstrated his affinity with the defunct priest king. Here was the new Dalai Lama. Whatever doubt remained was dispelled when bodily examination revealed three of the five physical signs associated with the incarnated divinity Chenrezi. It took nearly a year of negotiation and payment of vast gratuities to extricate the child from the jurisdiction of the Chinese and Tibetan authorities in his home district."

The possibilities for manipulation of this doctrine within the framework of Lamaism are innumerable.

648 792 775 The Chinese have used not only the machinery of Lamaism in this manipulation; they have used mechanical devices as well. At times they have given the appearance of objectivity by the discovery of several competing candidates for the office of Dalai Lama. Then they put the names of the three candidates on sepa-

12: Douglas T-3 (1951)1953 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of them stayed there for days, making it impossible for a plane to land or take off. Other lamas manned the passes leading south to India.

After weeks of debate and indecision, the Dalai Lama was still uncertain. The Chinese suggested he consult the oracle. The oracle in turn suggested that he decide by lot. Accordingly, the Chinese took two pieces of paper and wrote on one "To Lhasa" and on the other "To India." They rolled these in dough, put them in a wheel, and whirled the wheel. Out popped one capsule. It was opened in the presence of the Dalai Lama. It read "To Lhasa." That decided it. The fates had decreed the Dalai Lama should return to Lhasa. Chinese manipulation had once more carried the day.

On August 17, 1951, the Dalai Lama re-entered Lhasa. Immediately thereafter the Red Chinese "liberation" army raced across Tibet and occupied key posts along the Tibetan-Indian border. On August 17 I was in Leh. That night I had dinner at the three-hundred-year-old Sankar Monastery, a mile or so north of Leh, with Kaushak Bakula, Rinpoche of Spitok. Bakula is a Yellow Sect lama whose soul has been traced back beyond Buddha. Bakula is an important man in the Buddhist world. He is head of the Yellow Sect in Ladakh.

The Yellow Sect came into Buddhism as a reform sect. Its leader was Tsongkapa (the man from Onion Land), who hailed from Amdo, a Tibetan province bordering on northwest China. (This is the province from which the present Panchen Lama comes.) Tsongkapa died in 1419 after having cleansed Lamaism of some of its corruptness. Among other things, Tsongkapa introduced celibacy to the priesthood. It was from Tsongkapa that the practice of reincarnation in Buddhism stems. The second and the third reincarnation of Tsongkapa became heads of the Yellow Sect. But they had spiritual power only. The third of these extended the influence of the Yellow Sect to Mongolia and China. And it was the strength of the Yellow Hats in Mongolia that

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

lies huddled up in a corner, complaining of bad pains in his knees, one of the ills to which most Ladak is advanced in age seem to be heir. The bad knees are felt, the tongue looked at, and then the serious business of examining the pulses—in the plural—is undertaken. Although they are all found at the wrist where the Western physician looks for the single one, yet there are actually six pulses, three on each hand, so that not only may the pulse of the heart be examined, but also those of the stomach, lung, liver, kidney and spleen. This thorough examination finished, the doctor proceeds to treatment, which in this case is the cautery, a great stand-by of the *amchi*. This may do good if only it does not go septic; at any rate it is a strong counter-irritant. Some powder is then given, and the patient informed exactly how to take it, whether with hot, cold or lukewarm water. Food, too, has a most important bearing on the complaint, for, whilst the meat of a white sheep will do nothing but good, that of the black would aggravate the symptoms. As this patient has no fever, he may let himself go to sleep, but if a man has a temperature to let himself drift into such an unconscious state would certainly be fatal. Cupping, the raising of blisters, and venesection are other methods of curing all sorts of complaints.

Next to the Lama the *Onpo* or Horologist is perhaps the most important individual, for if you wish to plough your field, to call in the lamas for the reading of holy books, or desire to choose the best day on which to marry, in fact for the decision of all the important affairs of life, you must get him to settle the auspicious day. There is little to distinguish the *onpo* outwardly, but on official occasions he may dress like a lama, even to the wearing of a priestly cap, but his pigtail will distinguish him from the ecclesiastic. On his back he carries his bundle of books, and the Tibetan almanac. Puntzog, who is thirty years of age, visits the horologist, for he desires to attend the festival at Hemis, but he wants to leave Leh on the best day possible. Hemis occurs in the

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

fifth Buddhist month, and, referring to his books, the *onpo* finds that for him to travel in such a south-easterly direction on a Thursday in the fifth month is most auspicious. But consulting the star for that day he finds the fates are unkind, and that should Puntzog leave on Thursday, he will be robbed. What is to be done, for, in every other respect Thursday is so lucky? Further research into the horologist's library shows a way out of the dilemma. Let Puntzog go seven steps in the direction of Hemis the day before, returning then if he likes, and he can travel safely on Thursday. One day the *onpo* paid the Doctor Sahib a visit, and he, wishing to have horological proof of his married bliss and to be assured of its continuance, asked the *onpo* to read his nuptial horoscope. His age being forty-three years showed that he was born in the "water sheep" year, whilst his partner appeared in this incarnation in the "water snail" year. Now it is quite evident that water and water mix splendidly, so that divorce was out of the question. But he had had a narrow escape, for a year's difference would have been disastrous, as it would have involved the union of wood and water, and as the latter rots the former, married happiness would have been impossible. He then inquired whether his actual wedding day had been a good one, and a beam overspread the *onpo's* face when his books told him that both the day and the constellation pointed to the choice of a perfect day. Not only riches, but a quiver full of children would be our lot. The *onpo* also advised the Doctor to take a sea voyage this year, for he was born in the water year, and this is the wood year; a ship is made of wood and is meant to go in water, therefore such a journey would be most auspicious. As he was to travel to England this year he trusted the omens would not belie themselves.

Among professions a few words must be said about nuns. Most Buddhist families like to have one representative in the Church, but sometimes they have no boy or cannot spare one.

13: Heber and Heber D-3 (1914-25) 1926 AJ4 W. Tibetans AJ4

of former sins. Another patient—this time a Royal one be it noticed—asks for some medicine which will stop his beard from growing. Could such be produced much trouble might be saved for him as well as many others. The next comer informs us that he himself is not a patient, but that away at his home his little brother is suffering from headache, and is quite aggrieved that treatment without examination is refused. Now a Balti comes, who says he is perfectly well at present, but that he is quite certain one day he will have a pain in his digestive organs, and he would like to be prepared against that day. Another old gentleman has returned for more medicine, although only yesterday he had been provided for three days, and on being reproached for having disobeyed instructions, advances the perfectly reasonable argument that, if one dose of medicine is going to do him good, ten doses will multiply the good effect tenfold.

Having seen all our out-patients and attended to their treatment, we adjourn to the operating-room where a cataract is to be removed. To-day our patient is of noble rank, being the mother of the chief Rajah of Ladak. Some days previously the old King had asked us to operate on his maternal relative, and we actually fixed the date, but, alas! he found on consulting his horologist and books, that we had chosen a most inauspicious day and begged the Doctor to change it, which he did. There lies the old lady on the operating-table, her refined features and well-kept hands testifying to her good breeding. We scrub our hands so thoroughly that the onlookers, among whom is the King, no doubt feel this is part of a religious performance preceding the operation. Having arranged the sterile towels, we are just about to start, when the exalted son begins walking up and down the room rapidly, saying his *Om Mani pa dme hungs*, the while turning the beads of his rosary. This is hardly conducive to the stillness an English surgeon would desire when performing a cataract extraction. The obstructing lens is removed, how-

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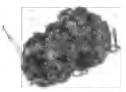

CHAPTER XX

Demons, Dances & Dinners

IN this country in which practically all the religious ritual is of the old demon worship origin, one would expect to find belief in the possession of man by demons. The Ladaki at any rate does not doubt the reality of such possession, and one is inclined to think that in spite of much fraud, there is a substratum of fact in it. Discussing this matter with a colleague one day, he affirmed that he had once had a woman patient who " really was possessed by a devil," and, in reply to the query as to how he had treated her, he said that a good dose of castor oil had cured her ! However, the reader shall judge for himself from the following experiences.

Some years ago we heard that in Marshro, a village situated a day's march from Leh, two brothers would become possessed by two very fierce demons, and my colleague and I decided to investigate the performance. Having arrived there, we were given a nice large room in the monastery, which proved somewhat too airy, as the time of year was mid-winter and one side of our apartment was completely open to the wintry air. However, by donning the rough native sheepskin coats, and ignoring their smell, we managed to make ourselves fairly comfortable, especially when we, with our servants, sat round a large pot of steaming Irish stew. As we enjoyed this warming and welcome dish, our table companions, waxing loquacious, told us of how these demons originally came from Central Tibet to reside in

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●787 Ladak, and how they were now the fiercest in the whole
796 country. They said that these special demons always take possession once a year of two men belonging to two definite Marshro families. Sometimes they are the same two men for a number of successive years, at others they vary. The afflatus always occurs during the first Buddhist month. Should the chosen candidate be a new one, he has to prepare himself from three to four months before, but otherwise one is sufficient. When the time has arrived these two men, generally, if not always, lamas, repair to a mountain retreat. Here they sit in a box, which is so made that they can neither lie down, nor assume any attitude other than that of sitting absolutely upright, and they are only allowed out for a very short space of time in the morning, afternoon and evening. They do not divest themselves of their clothes the whole time, and so cramped do they become that a rope is fixed above their heads by which to pull themselves up. During this month they are supplied with food from the neighbouring monastery of Marshro. Their duties consist in the reading of holy books, and the innumerable repetitions of *Om manis*. The month completed, a crowd of people ride up to their retreat to escort these *Lhapas*, god-men as they are now called, back to the monastery. There can be no doubt of their possession now, for whilst the ponies of all their companions get very tired on this journey, those of the *Lhapas* are absolutely fresh throughout. Our informants then tell us of how the *Lhapas* will on the morrow cut themselves with swords without drawing blood, will run about on giddy heights without falling, and will foretell the future.

796 Next day we took our seats on the balcony overlooking the monastery courtyard with great expectations of a really thrilling show. There was a large crowd present, and soon an ordinary lama's dance was performed below us. These in their demon-masks were shortly joined by the *Lhapas*,

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who were naked to the waist, and, whilst dancing, each waved about a sword which he carried in his right hand. At a given moment this weapon was brought across the other bare arm, but immediately it had arrived there, and before any harm could be done, several lamas rushed to them, pulled the swords away, and begged them not to harm themselves, a request in which they seemed only too pleased to acquiesce. This performance rather reminded one of the lamas of whom Waddell tells, who, when wearing the "sky-soaring" hat, have to be held down firmly to keep them from floating right out of sight. Our *Lhapas*, having tried to cut themselves several times, and being just as often restrained, eventually repaired with the other dancers into the temple. We sent a request that we might be allowed to come to examine them, which they granted. There we found two young men whose faces were rather pleasant, but in whose eyes there certainly was a strange, strained, wild look. They showed us their arms on which we descried a small straight scratch, but no blood! On closer examinaton we concluded that they had cut themselves some days before, had allowed this to scab over, then merely had to remove the scab and "they were able to cut themselves with swords, but without drawing blood"!

We now watched the second act. This begins with another devil dance, in the middle of which the two *Lhapas* rush to the top of the monastery running along the outer edge of the wall, with a distinctly nasty drop to one side of them, or jumping down from fairly high distances, an acrobatic feat which I personally would not like to perform, but one, on the other hand, which any good English gymnast with a little practice and a good head for dizzy heights, or a professional steeplejack, would find no difficulty in emulating.

Now came the grand final achievement—the act of prophesying events to come during the ensuing year. We noticed the *Lhapas* going from group to group, beginning with the royal family, and again we sent a polite message, asking them

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whether they would mind paying us a kind visit. They agreed and soon stood before us, dancing about from one leg to the other in a state of great excitement. My colleague then held out his purse and asked them to tell him how much money it contained. This excited them still more and they exclaimed, "You are trying us—we will not be tried—we will not answer." Then they turned to me, and, after a few flattering remarks as to my medical work for their country, which were meant to make me amenable, they asked me what I desired to know, to which I replied that I wished them to tell me the next question I would ask them, having beforehand told my colleague what this would be. This caused a fresh outburst of fury in which they departed from us in anger, and we from them in disgust at the fraud perpetrated on these credulous folk. It is difficult not to label the whole thing a big lie, for from Lahoul come the weirdest stories. Thus we have been told that here the *Lha* often inhabits the beam of a house. Wishing to have a walk, the beam is shouldered by men, who carry "him" up hill and down dale in the most extraordinary manner. If they essay to take the *Lha* in an undesired direction, the god shows his disapproval by becoming heavier. He eventually indicates the house in which he wishes to take up his residence by again becoming more ponderous. Generally this occurs near the habitation of some opulent Buddhist. At other times a still more ingenious method is resorted to in order to ascertain the wishes of the *Lha*. A mirror is carried in front of and facing the beam, and the reflections therein show the god's wishes to perfection. We were told that sometimes the *Lhapas*—these godmen—disagree, and have to have their disputes settled by the English Christian Commissioner. It is really rather strange that often the god takes possession of a man of the blacksmith caste, although he is despised, and yet the moment he becomes the habitation of the god, he is, of course, regarded with much respect.

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CHAPTER XXVI

The Lure of Ladak

THE festival at Hemis is, as it were, a grand climax to all the strange things we see and find in this extraordinary country, which culminate in its religious practices. We have described lightly the outward ceremonies and appearances of the masque, emphasizing perhaps its humorous details, conscious and unconscious: yet, when we review it as a whole, we cannot but be appalled at its deeper significance, nor can we fail to realize that this country of cheery, attractive, lovable folk is a prey to the most rampant demonology. Where all the best religions of the world will at least point upwards, as it were, to "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are lovely, whatsoever things are of good report" as worthy of contemplation, here the whole force of Lamaism directs the people's attention downwards to that which is impure, ugly, evil. Surely in spiritual matters they are "upside down" rather than we. The study of their horoscopy alone impresses one with the terrible burden of it all, the endless costly offices imposed on the common ignorant, superstitious people by Lamaism. It is rightly stated that "one family alone is prescribed a sufficient number of sacerdotal tasks to engage a couple of lamas fairly fully for several months of the year."

The rites enjoined to overcome the difficulties of the conflicting horoscopes of relations dwelling together, the ceremonies necessary to nullify evil influences in connection, not only with the crises of life to which we have referred, but with

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476 556 436 427 receives half the crop in return for working the fields, the landowner being responsible for the water-supply and the payment of land revenue.

In Ladakh, as well as in Tibet proper, where the country to a large extent is sterile, the Malthusian law, by which "there is a tendency on the part of the population to increase at a greater ratio than its power of producing food," actually operates. There have been writers who with great plausibility advanced the view that the practice of fraternal polyandry (plurality of husbands) was intended to combat this tendency. It is more likely, however, that the custom of polyandry derives its origin from a crude state of society and originally had no such economic significance. On the other hand, it is quite possible to conceive of a condition of affairs in this arid and sandy country likely to cause widespread famine or continual warfare. Actually neither occurs, for, together with polyandry, groups of families live in one or more houses attached to the paternal property. Moreover, Tibetans generally are not warlike, and the universal virtue of hospitality and the giving of alms to all and sundry acts as a kind of safety valve against famine and war.

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241 787 805 Farming activities at the outset are mildly controlled by religious sanctions, and the peasants consult the oracle dictated by the Buddhist priesthood as regards the auspicious moment at which farming operations may proceed. In practice, however, the auspicious time for ploughing and seeding coincides with the time at which the sun strikes certain prominent mountain peaks or cliffs at sunrise, meridian, or sunset. For [114] instance, in a village in which I lived for ten years, a chart of the time of day was drawn up covering a whole year, based on the moment when the sun set over a particular snow-capped peak. The local astrologer—usually a lama or Buddhist priest—also compiles a calendar which serves as a guide to the farmers who can read.

241 134 In spite of the aridity of the country and the lack of moisture, the harvests of Ladakh cannot be said to be insufficient to feed the people. The soil, however unpromising, has the peculiarity of yielding good crops year after year without its being allowed to lie fallow and without, in many cases, any attempt to cultivate an alternation of crops.

241 When a farmer contemplates opening up waste land he must first clear the ground of obstructions, such as rocks, stones, and rough grasses, and then contrive to level the surface. Everywhere you see fields constructed in the form of terraces along the sides of the hills, the stones and top layer of the earth being brought down from a higher to a lower level so as to form a wall or buttress. These parallel terraces of levelled-out land are supplied with water conducted in channels from a mountain torrent caused through the melting of glaciers or accumulations of snow. Another ingenious device for obtaining what will one day become arable land is that of building stone dikes across the sloping sides of mountains near their base. These are constructed by the peasants to assist the deposit of soil and gravel by the melting snows. They are left for years and sometimes generations for the operation of nature in preparation for the labour of man, so that in due course a sterile declivity becomes an accessible flight of terraces of cultivation.

The soil thus reclaimed from the stony and barren mountain sides has

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The New Year Festival celebrations begin when the *haldra* is placed leaning obliquely against the wall of the living room. One *haldra* is made for each male in the household, though none are provided for the women. This operation completed, the *mar-zan* is offered and scattered before the *haldra*, after which follows the *kal-chor* offering which is sprinkled with a small branch of the juniper. The *sang-shū* is in the meanwhile lit and kept burning.

● [787]

The villagers have now to await instructions from the *Tsis-pa* (*T. rtsis-pa*, the man who calculates the readings of the Tibetan calendar) for the propitious moment for emerging from their houses. When this notice is served, the remainder of the *mar-zan* offering is transferred to the

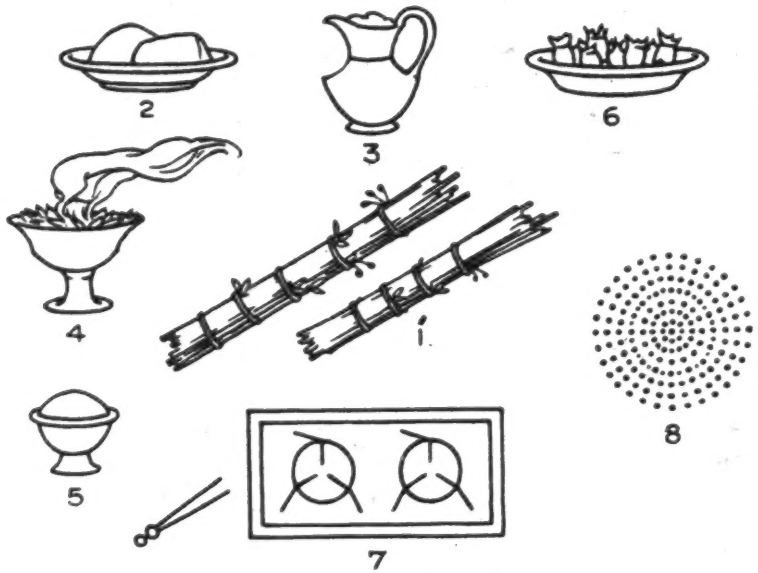

FIG. 1.—OFFERINGS AT THE *haldra* CEREMONY.

1. *haldra*; 2. *mar-zan*; 3. *kal-chor*; 4. *sang-shū*; 5. *rai-gen*; 6. *mar-mar-zad*; 7. *tab-ka*; 8. *shis-kar-appa*.

rai-gens (? T. *ra-gan*, brass vessel) (5), a cup made of various metals. This is then placed in the fold of the Tibetan robe above the waistband, one such cup being carried by the sons in each house. The *mar-mar-zad* (6) offering consisting of barley, juniper berries, and sprouts, and butter mixed together, and tied up with yarn. Round small pieces of beech bark is similarly secreted in the folds of the dress. Finally, the *haldra* is lit from the family hearth or *tab-ka* (7) [= T. *thab*] and all emerge from their respective houses. At a certain field called *rūt*, one *mar-mar-zad* is offered; then at another spot further on a second *mar-mar-zad* is scattered, and about 200 yards further still the third offering of *mar-mar-zad* is made.

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Lahul

221 TERN TIBET. *By Walter Asboe.*

241 in Western Tibet, in the order in which they occur from April until December are :—

1. Wall building and repairing breaches.
2. Cutting new watercourses, and repairs to old ones.
3. Planting of willow saplings.
4. Collecting of thorns for hedging fields.
5. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
6. Sowing and ploughing.
7. The ceremony of blessing the fields.
8. Beating straw for straw shoes : this done by the women.
9. Mud washing and general spring-cleaning of the houses.
10. Watering grass land.
11. Weeding with small hoe (*surmo*).
12. Irrigating the fields.
13. Beating straw for straw shoes (this, during a slack time).
14. Cutting the grass and storing it on house roofs.
15. Reaping the grain fields.
16. Building corn stacks.
17. Threshing.
18. Winnowing.
19. Carrying out and spreading manure on fields.
20. Collecting wood for the winter fuel.
21. Milling grain for the winter supply.

221 286 From December until spring farming pursuits cease, owing to the heavy snowfall, and the population engages in village social functions, spinning and weaving of yarn for clothes.

656 425 Lahoul being under British administration, the acquirement and disposal of land are regulated in accordance with Government rules. Similarly in Ladakh, another district of Western Tibet, the people are subject to the revenue regulations of the native State of Kashmir.

241 787 Although in certain parts of Western Tibet the people do not engage in any agricultural enterprise

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241 before a verdict as to the propitious moment for beginning such occupations is given by the
787 hierarchy, this custom is considerably relaxed in Lahoul, where the community does not pay so much attention to the priestly oracle as do the people living in the more remote valleys of Western Tibet.

Landmarks.

423 Rocks, stones and watercourses serve as
685 landmarks to distinguish between the various
691 farm holdings. When disputes occur, arising out of the removing of rock or stone landmarks, a subordinate in the Government survey department is called in to remeasure the land which is under dispute, and legal proceedings are taken by the offended party.

Virgin Soil.

425 When a farmer contemplates cultivating virgin soil, he has first of all to consult the wishes of the community, lest he should infringe the rights of communal pasturage, before negotiating with the Government authorities under whose administration he lives. If the community is agreed that there is no encroachment on the pasturage, a beer drinking party for all concerned is arranged at the expense of the farmer, who may then proceed to acquire the prospective piece of waste land from the Government.

[273]

Regulation of Water Supply.

312 An adequate supply of water from rivers,
624 glaciers and accumulations of snow is essential in a practically rainless country such as Western Tibet is. Hence the community is most jealous in protecting its rights over such water supply. Two men (Las-pa) are chosen in rotation yearly by the villagers to supervise the communal water supply.

Their duties consist of (1) calling the villagers when the watercourse has to be repaired, (2) collecting beer from each household for the nourishment of about 14 people engaged in the repairs.

In Ladakh the watchers of the water supply are called 'Choo-spon' (lit. Master of the water
241 supply). In cases where there is a communal
312 reservoir for collecting water for the fields, the 'Choo-spons' (usually two or three men) allot the amount of water for each farmstead, and so prevent the possibility of one farmer stealing more water than is his rightful share.

Arrangement of Fields.

Owing to the mountainous nature of the

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floor, than small lamps on every pillar in the room were lit and gave us all the light we needed to follow the next part of the ceremony. 585 354

A man called the *La-btag-pa* (*La-bTag-pa*) now came forward with a large branch of juniper in his hand. He set fire to it from one of the lamps and with a knife, which he held in the other hand, he cut a piece out of the conical *tsampa* cake and offered it loudly to a god whom he called Tangyer of Kior. The Wazir told me afterwards that the latter was the name of a neighbouring village really called Piukar, while the god's actual appellation was Kularapa. It was never done, however, to call upon him and his village openly by their real name, and thus they were both called upon in the way which I heard. 585 782

The same *La-btag-pa* then took what remained of the cake and offered it to the bride and bridegrooms. A shout went up from the crowd looking on and we heard that this was the crucial moment when they became husbands and wife. The cake was presented cross-armed by the officiator, that is to say, after he had got rid of the burning juniper branch (which was thrown out of the window), he took one large slice in each hand and, facing the wedding party, offered what he had in his right hand to the men, and the contents of the left to the girl. Everybody watched to see how the pieces would be taken. If they are snatched, it means that the partners are very much in love. If the woman takes her piece slowly, reluctantly, it means that she is in love with someone else. Should the cake be refused and the slices returned, this means that the marriage is refused. In this case, they seemed to accept the proffered food quite naturally, without either snatching or hesitating, so that everyone present shouted their approval. 585 787

After that, *chang* was passed to the assembled company, beginning with the two bridegrooms. When it reached us, the Thakur told me that the ceremony was finished and that we could go. As we went out, leaving our guide to remain and enjoy the fun, I noticed that the Garas started beating their drums again; they had been silent since the bride had been carried into the main room to be formally wed. We were cordially invited to return the next day, as we were told that rejoicings would go on now for another two days and two nights. 585 [273]

In the morning, on July 2nd 1938, we returned to Tolag-pa house, to continue our experience of a Lahuli polyandrous wedding. Thakur Partap Chand again accompanied us, and from him I heard what had happened after our departure the day before, and during the night.

It seemed that the bride had retired at about 11.30 p.m., with the women who helped her to undress. The bridegrooms remained with the

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the first one and with mutual consent. The first wife will always have the right to preside over the household, as she is the senior.

If a family has no heirs, it is possible for it to adopt one. This right is practised by persons of both sexes, whether they are married or not. The institution is called *Bu-skal* (*Bu-sKal*) or *Bu-dod* (*Bu-dod*), which words have the significance of "child-instead". The general rule is that the person to be adopted is taken from among the kinsmen of the husband and is married with a girl chosen out of the relatives of the wife. On the other hand, if a girl is adopted from among the relations of the husband, a *mag-pa* must be brought in to her from the agnates of the wife. If the adopted child is taken from a family having no blood relation with the adopting person, *chang* and presentation scarves called *Kha-tag* (*K'ha-bTags*) are offered to the parents and relatives of the person to be adopted. In certain cases, this offer is repeated more than once and *Khatags* are placed on the neck of the person to be adopted and those of his parents again and again until they give way. If the adoption is made from among the kindred, the ceremony of giving *chang* and offering food in a family repast is considered sufficient. The adoption is in most cases recorded in writing in the form of a deed; the person adopting binds himself or herself to recognize the adopted child as his or her only legal heir. Should a child be born to the adopting person after this, the offspring will not be able to take the place of the adopted person, the deed of adoption being irrevocable.

2. *Betrothal and wedding ceremonies*

Betrothal takes place at a very early age in Ladak – usually before ten with regard to the girl, between that age and twelve with regard to the boys. First, horoscopes of the potential candidates are taken, and the parents (or guardians) of the bridegroom or bridegrooms call at the house of the bride to present *chang* and *khatags* to her parents. This ceremony bears the name of *Tri chang* (*Tri-ch'hang*) and in it the petitioning party makes the offer six or seven times to express insistence.

When this part of the proceedings is finished, the parents of the girl accept the request, but demand for themselves and for their daughter more *chang*, tea, butter, *khatags* and food. All relatives of both sides take part in this ritual which is known as *Hol-chang* (*Hol-ch'hang?*) or *Tri-chang chen-mo* (*Tri-ch'hang ch'hen-mo*), "the great ask *chang*".

This is followed by the important *Nyen-chang* (*gNyen-ch'hang*) or "relatives' *chang*". The bride-to-be's relatives receive more *chang*, loaves, meat, tea, butter and *khatags*, as well as the bridegroom's con-

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(there exist patrilineal clans here, as in Lahul, called *p'ha-spun* (*P'ha-sPun*), of which I shall speak later), dual descent is taken into consideration in what concerns degrees of marriage prohibition. Thus one can never marry within the paternal clan, and only a blood relative of one's mother beyond the seventh degree of relationship. In the poorer classes it is said that such a prohibition is only observed up to the fifth degree.

The wedding ceremonies of the well-to-do Ladaki families are most elaborate and spectacular. In more modest households, however, *chang* is simply offered three or four times to the bride's relatives after *Tri-chang* in what is called *Bsu-chang* (*bSu-ch'hang*) or "taking-home-*chang*", and on the day fixed for the wedding, the bridegroom's (eldest) father, *azhang* or maternal uncle and some of the members of his *p'ha-spun* escort the girl to his house and the main ceremony follows. This is similar to the equivalent ceremony among the wealthier people, which I now propose to describe in greater detail.

We should first distinguish between *bag-ma* and *mag-pa* marriage, and since the former of the two is the most elaborate, I shall take it first. Before the commencement of the principal ceremonies, and after the formalities following upon the *Go-ras* ritual have taken place, a feast called *Drags-chang* (*Drags-ch'hang*) or "very much *chang*" is given to the bride's parents by their relatives. They bring *tsampa*, *chang*, sheep and goat carcasses, tea, butter, rice and cash to help them with the occasion. The same kind of feast is held in the bridegroom's house for his (or their) parents by the latters' relatives.

Then the first phase of the wedding festivities begins. On the date decided upon, a procession is formed at the bridegroom's house. It consists of his father, his *azhang*, members of his *p'ha-spun*, fifteen to twenty in number. It never includes the boy himself, who stays at home and waits. Towards the close of day, all these people will set out accompanied by a dancing party, gorgeously dressed, of five to nine *Nya-opas* (*gNya-bo-pa*) or "witnesses". These, chosen among the friends and companions of the bridegroom, are designated by astrology; their principal qualification is that they know the appropriate dance steps and songs to be sung. They are led by a *Nya-pön* (*gNya-dPon*) or "chief witness".

As they proceed towards the bride's house, they are offered *chang* and *tsampa* on the way by anyone who cares to come along from the village. They take these offerings in their hands as blessings of good luck, and in return pay out cash in small coins. Some distance from

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A man is *yuksapa* (*Yugs-sa-pa*) after the death of his wife, also for a period of time the duration of which depends on circumstances (if it is the senior or one of the junior wives) and on the part of Ladak. His mourning is less severe than that of a woman, and all he has to do is to keep from rejoicing and amusing himself, not put on any jewelry or gay colours, wear his hat with the side flaps turned down. He may eat in common with the members of his household and need not stay indoors for the length of time that he is unclean.

During the period of birth pollution, a certain number of ceremonies connected with the new-born child take place in the house of its parents. If it is a boy, a *da-dar* (*mDa-dar*), that is an arrow with silk ribbons of five different colours attached to it, is placed in a pot of grain next to the mother's bed. Before the babe takes its first milk, one of the fathers (the most influential one) takes a spoon and with saffron powder draws the last letter of the Tibetan alphabet "A" in reverse on it. He then prints this letter on the child's mouth, be it a boy or a girl, and it is only after this that it is allowed to take any nourishment.

The next step is to call in an *Onpo* (*dbang-po*) or astrologer, who is entrusted with making the baby's horoscope. Seven days later, relatives and visitors, but no one of the new-born's *p'haspun*, arrive to congratulate. They bring *mar-zan* (*Mar-Zan*) or "butter-porridge" (made of butter, rice sugar and apricots) with them and feast on it with the family.

At the same time as the *lhabsang* cleansing ceremony takes place, the child has its hair cut (*gJur*) in a special way – short on top, but left long on the sides –, a black soot mark is placed on its face from the tip of its nose upwards towards and over its forehead, and it is given iron bangles to wear. It will keep all these marks until it is four or five years old.

After the cleaning ceremony is finished, the parents can go normally about their business again. It is then that relatives and friends, including members of the *p'haspun*, come on visit in a festival called *Da-kang* (*Zla-Gang*) or "month full". They bring ornaments, presents for the child, and some coins of one pice (called *Tambol* in Ladak, which I presume to be a Hindu word as it is not Tibetan). This money is paid to the parents, but it is repayable, in that when the giver has a birth in his house, the amount will have to be paid back by the present recipient.

The paternal aunt (father's sister) brings a special type of cap to this festival, called a *Pan-ju* (*Pan-Jwu*) or "small Pandit cap", a type of